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State

State of Ireland considered,

WITH AN ENQUIRY

INTO THE

History and Operation

OF

TITHE :

AND

A PLAN

*For modifying that System, and providing an
adequate Maintenance*

FOR THE

CATHOLIC AND PRESBYTERIAN CLERGY.

Second Edition :

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

The Rev. Mr. Howlett's Plan of Commutation,

AND

A PROPOSITION FOR TAXING ABSENTEES.

Dedicated to the Members of the Imperial Parliament.

" Expergiscimini ergo et capeffite rempublicam."

" You ask, perhaps, what sect, what chief I own:

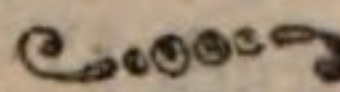
" I'm of all sects, but blindly sworn to none."

Dublin :

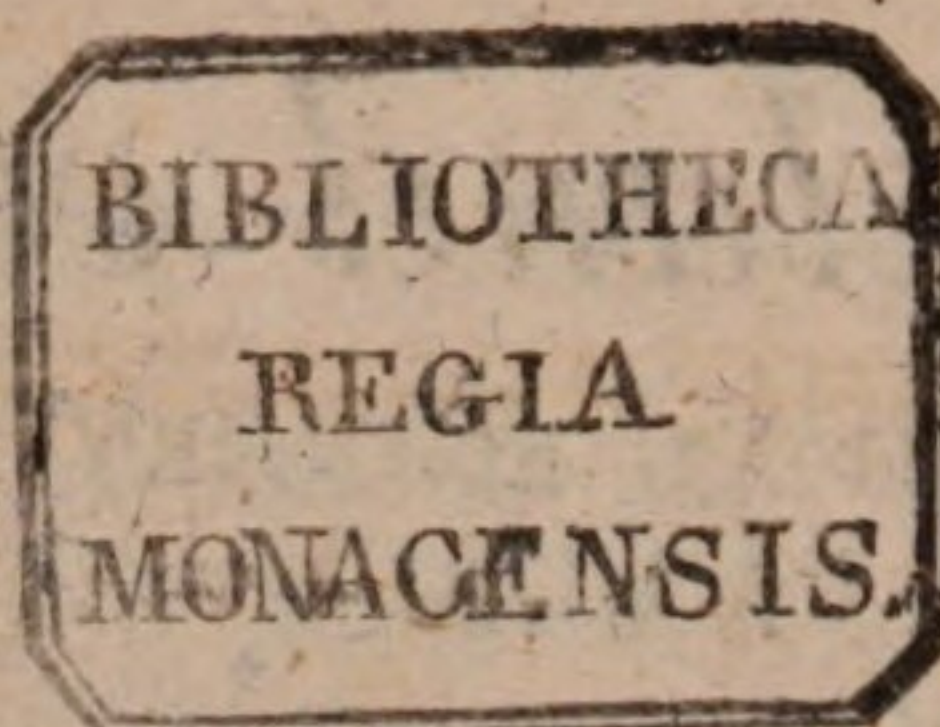
PRINTED BY DOWNES AND REILLY :

Sold by Gilbert and Hodges, Dublin, and Cuthell and Martin, London.

1810. .


PRICE 4s. 6d:

398.2.



The
Hon^{ble} Earl Temple
from the
Author

TO THE
Right Honorable and Honorable
THE
MEMBERS
OF THE
IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

THE Parliament of Ireland, by a redress of grievances and by a firm adherence to the principles, which established their own independence and that of the nation, armed the mass of its population without distinction of rank or religion in defence of their country, and thereby averted from its shores a formidable and otherwise inevitable invasion. A deviation from these principles armed that population against the state, endangered the connection with Great Britain, extinguished that Parliament, and transferred to you the awful responsibility of legislating for a country, which whether under *British* or *Irish* legislation has hitherto been confessedly neglected, if not ill-treated and mismanaged. That these assertions are not exaggerated, the records of Irish history for 30 years back fully establish: that the last position is not unfounded, Lord Clare's unequivocal admission, sanctioned by Mr. Pitt's authority, too satisfactorily demonstrates. "The Parliament of England, said Lord Clare, seem to have considered the permanent debility of Ireland, as their best security for her connexion with the British Crown, and the Irish Parliament to have rested the security of the colony, upon maintaining a perpetual and impassable barrier against the ancient inhabitants of the country."—"When the connexion with Ireland, said Mr. Pitt, was something

thing more than a name, when that connexion was ascertained, and the Imperial Parliament of this country exercised a supremacy over Ireland, it did happen that during that period the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced with views of trade and commercial advantages, tainted and perverted with selfish motives, treated Ireland with partiality and neglect, and never looked upon her growth and prosperity, as the growth and prosperity of the Empire at large."

For nine years has the Imperial Parliament now legislated for Ireland. What, it may be asked, has it done for her? What new laws of wise policy has it enacted, what bad measures has it repealed?—Has it learned to avoid the example of its predecessors in power, and to consider the strength of Ireland, and the cordial and happy union of its inhabitants as the best pledges for the security of her connexion with the British Crown? has it fulfilled all the sanguine expectations Ireland had been *officially* taught to entertain when seduced to part with her own legislature? Have any of the promises, then made to the NATION, been fulfilled?

To you, my Lords and Gentlemen, the minister of England and his agent in Ireland, desired us to look, and from you most confidently to expect such measures, as our own Parliament either was unable or unwilling to impart. We were fondly taught to believe, that under your kind and beneficent influence, Astrea would once more descend on earth and restore peace, harmony and good will among men, that "by the dissemination of liberal sentiment, the removal of party distractions, and the suppression of factious associations," all hereditary feuds would be allayed, all past injuries forgotten, and the wounds inflicted by the rankling poison of discord, hatred and revenge be healed for ever, that under the same benign influence, all religious animosities would vanish, and all political differences and disabilities finally disappear, that arts and manufactures would flourish in the influx of English skill and English capital; that a
magnificent

magnificent grant should be made for the extension of our canals, that the lower orders should be relieved from the pressure of Tithes, that an effectual and adequate provision would be made for the Catholic clergy, and that the connection between the two countries, must by these means be permanently secured.

These promises, my Lords and Gentlemen, (in Ireland *officially* published and *officially* circulated) were in your hearing distinctly repeated and reiterated by that minister, who for so many years swayed the councils of Britain, and were here faithfully re-echoed by his agents. These were the *grounds*, upon which that minister declared he ventured to propose the Union, "as these measures when conceded would, he said, provide an effectual remedy for the distractions, which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland and would remove those causes, which have endangered, and still endanger its security." By these promises, not by the conditions proposed was the minister enabled to effect a measure, in the accomplishment of which you ardently supported him. No doubt they were not inserted among the articles of Union, but by the people of Ireland they were held equally binding, and were in fact the consideration for which they consented to the sacrifice of their independent Legislature.—These solemn promises notwithstanding our repeated demand for their performance as yet remain unfulfilled, "*Vox et præterea nil.*" Can we therefore wonder that since the enactment of

* Feeling as I do, says Mr. Pitt, (on the rejection of this measure in 1799,) a *firm* persuasion of the *great, solid, and extensive* benefits that must result to Ireland from consenting to carry into effect the object proposed—feeling as I do, the immense addition that must accrue to the Empire at large and the consolidation of interest, strength, and affection, that must be derived to both countries from the execution of it, I cannot avoid saying, that I am impressed with the deepest regret for the disappointment that has taken place." And when in 1800, again submitting the same measure to the British Parliament, he observes, "We must consider it as a measure of great national policy, the object of which is effectually to counteract the restless machinations of an inveterate

of the Union, an Arms and Infurrection Bill have been deemed expedient, and that a French party should be supposed to exist in the country.—To his ruling passion, *the lust of power*, this minister sacrificed the promises made to an indignant nation, and death soon liberated him from all responsibility on this side the grave.—But you, my Lords and Gentlemen, you who were parties in the contract between the two kingdoms, you who silently and with acquiescence heard the promises made in your name, you to whom we were desired to look for the fulfilment of them, as “an independent Legislature, removed from the immediate seat of the evils complained of, *a Legislature*, not partial to either party but the fair arbiter and kind parent of both, *a Legislature*, not liable to local influence, *nor subject to popular incitement*,” you, I say, my Lords and Gentlemen, happily survive, and if justice, good faith and wisdom, and with these the most powerful and natural of all feelings, the principle of self-preservation, have not ceased to influence your councils,

inveterate enemy, who has uniformly and anxiously endeavoured to effect a separation between two countries, whose connection is as necessary for the safety of the one, as it is for the prosperity of the other. We must look to it as the only measure we can adopt which can calm the dissensions, allay the animosities, and dissipate the jealousies which have unfortunately existed, *as a measure*, whose object is to communicate to the sister kingdom the skill, the capital, and the industry which have raised this country to such a pitch of opulence, to give her a full participation of the Commerce and Constitution of England.” After a lapse of nine years, it may now fairly be asked, what “great, solid and extensive benefits” have resulted from this measure to Ireland or the Empire at large? Has it counteracted the restless machinations of an inveterate enemy? Has it calmed all dissensions, allayed all animosities, and dissipated all jealousies? Has it communicated to the *Sister Kingdom* the skill, the capital and industry of England? Has it given to her a full participation of the Commerce and Constitution of England? Such were the promised fruits of the Union. What have heretofore been the real and sole fruits of that measure? A great encrease of absentees—a great and exorbitant encrease of debt and taxation. But of this more hereafter.—*Vide Appendix, Art. Absentees.*

councils, you may yet live to redeem your pledges and your character with the Irish people, you may yet shelter your country from the storm that threatens the whole civilised world, you may yet escape the effects of the earthquake which has already laid prostrate every Christian state on the Continent of Europe, you may yet preserve these kingdoms, free, independent and happy.

It was observed, my Lords and Gentlemen, by Sir Edward Coke in the Reign of our first James, on a motion to acquaint that King with the grievances of this country, that “if Ireland be not safe, we cannot be sure, but if Ireland be safe, and our Navy well furnished, though the whole world be our foes, we need not fear the Pope or the Devil?” Will it be asserted that Ireland is now of less importance? Will it be asserted that Ireland is safe? Alas no! Ireland is confessedly of more importance than ever.—Alas no! For Ireland was never in more danger.—Are proofs of these positions required?—If required—they will be found in the subsequent pages.

As guardians of the British Empire, and as you regard your own personal welfare, it is imperative upon you to make diligent enquiry into the circumstances, which have reduced that Empire to its present critical situation, and have rendered Ireland insecure: an enquiry the more indispensable, as you must be conscious that should Ireland become the prey of our indefatigable and vindictive foe, England would find it impossible to flourish or perhaps to exist. And with respect to Ireland it is further incumbent on you to examine whether other measures be not as expedient as the fulfilment of the promises to which you are bound by the Union. Be not deterred from this investigation by any apprehensions of its complicated nature, nor by despair of discovering a suitable remedy. Like the prudent and skilful Physician, study the exact nature, extent and origin of the disease, before you venture to recommend or apply any particular plan of treatment. The
disease

disease of Ireland, though complicated, is not obscure: though of long standing, has not yet become inveterate or incurable.

A great proportion of your body, my Lords and Gentlemen, are unfortunately strangers to Ireland, unacquainted with the customs, the manners, character and genius of its inhabitants—there are few among you who by historic research are not intimately versed in the rise and progress, the customs, manners and government of states, from which you are far removed, or with which you are totally unconnected—there are, notwithstanding this want of affinity, few among you who have not visited them and acquired personal knowledge on these important topics. And yet how few have deemed Ireland worthy of the same notice—Ireland, a neighbouring isle, a “*Sister Country*,” a country *nominally* governed by the same laws, long connected with your own by habit, and cemented by the closest and dearest ties that can bind nations together. How few on Irish ground have studied the Irish nation—how few are acquainted with the genius or character of its inhabitants, except through the false medium of an illiberal and partial Press. A closer intimacy with this neglected and misrepresented country is expedient and requisite before you can safely legislate for Ireland—before you can understand or remedy its grievances.*

Some

* Permit me to intrude the following very accurate and just description of the native Irish character from Camden's *Britannia*, a character now for centuries unaltered. “*Bellicosi sunt, ingeniosi, corporis lineamenti conspicui, mirifica carnis mollitie et propter musculorum teneritudinem agilitate incredibili—et in universum gens hæc corpore valida, et imprimis agilis, animo forte et elato, ingenio acri, bellicosa, vitæ prodiga, laboris et inediae patiens, veneri indulgens, hospitibus perbenigna, amore constans, inimicitiis implacabilis, credulitate levis, gloriæ avida, contumeliæ et injuriæ impatiens, et in omnes actus vehementissima.—Qui mali, nusquam peiores, et bonis meliores vix reperiatis.*”—In legislating for Ireland, this picture of the Irish character should ever be in our view.

Some there are among you, my Lords and Gentlemen, who would have you think that Catholic Emancipation, as they term it, will tranquillise Ireland, others that a commutation of Tithes may suffice—whereas *even both would be inefficient*, an accurate acquaintance with the genuine records of Irish History informing us that some of our grievances are such as no Government can *directly* remedy, because much of the blame of our mismanagement must attach itself to the selfish conduct of our great landed proprietors, who like the English of old “did cross and withstand the enfranchisement and amelioration of the Irish, wherein (to use the words of the impartial Sir J. Davies*) I must still clear and acquit the crown and state of England, of negligence or ill policy and lay the fault upon the pride, coverousness and ill council of the English planted here, who in all former ages have been the chief impediments to the final conquest of Ireland.”

If therefore, my Lords and Gentlemen, you desire not to be misdirected, you will see and hear for yourselves, and not as interested individuals would have you, you will listen to the representations of those who have no motives to deceive, of *those* who have had opportunities to learn, and have the boldness to speak *all* the grievances of Ireland, of *those* no otherwise interested in the information they communicate than every individual must be in the general good that may result from it.

Thus qualified, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have presumed to address you in the language of free and respectful expostulation, and have taken the liberty of submitting to your dispassionate consideration an impartial statement of
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facts

* Sir John was Attorney General in Ireland, under James the First, and also Speaker of the Irish House of Commons—he was besides among the first who went circuit in this country. As neither his knowledge of Ireland, nor his impartiality can be doubted, let me presume to recommend his historical relations to the perusal of those, who desire to trace the original sources of Ireland's mismanagement.

facts, with which some research into Irish History has made me acquainted, and to communicate that information which a long intimacy with the Irish character has induced me to think not unworthy your notice.—As an Irishman and a Protestant, attached, from the strongest conviction of their excellence, to the principles of the British Constitution, I have risked, and am still willing to risk my life in defence of British connexion—but in return am I not, in common with thousands of my countrymen, justified in expecting that they, upon whom rests the awful responsibility of guarding it, will open their eyes to the dangers to which it is exposed, and in time endeavour to avert them.

An attentive perusal of the work, which I have presumed to dedicate to your service, will I trust satisfy you, my Lords and Gentlemen, that these dangers take their rise from the following sources.—From that inattention to the welfare and comforts of their tenantry, which from time immemorial has marked the conduct of the Irish landlord and from a similar inattention on the part of the British Cabinet to our interests and prosperity—from the immense foreign expenditure of the country, caused by its numerous absentees, by the war, and by the interest of that part of its national debt contracted in England—from Tithes, and their mode of collection—from the want of an adequate allowance from the State for the support of the Catholic and Presbyterian Clergy—from the existence of national and religious distinctions, as pernicious to the country, as they are disgraceful to those who established them—from the inobservance and neglect of the laws, arising from the want of vigour and unanimity in the magistracy.

These, my Lords and Gentlemen you will find to be the combined causes, which have ever rendered and still render the situation of this country so alarming, which expose it to the assaults of the invader, and make even the boldest to tremble

tremble with apprehension at his approach, and these the evils, upon the removal or alleviation of which must depend the safety of Ireland and its future attachment to the Crown of Great Britain. Does any man, acquainted with Ireland, assert that the Irish landlord has done his duty towards his tenantry? Let him call to remembrance the habitation, the cloathing, the food, and the aspect of the Irish peasant, and he will retract his assertion?—Does any man assert that British Ministers have discharged their duties with fidelity to Ireland?—Let him recollect the declarations of Mr. Pitt and Lord Clare, and he will retract his assertion?—Does any statesman assert that the foreign expenditure of the country is not prejudicial to it?—Let him reflect on the impossibility of capital accumulating in a country, compelled to export its produce without an adequate return, and on the necessity that has thence arisen of contracting debts in another—let him reflect on the dangerous consequences of dissolving all intercourse between the Lord of the soil, and the Tenantry who cultivate it, and he will retract his assertion?—Does any man assert that Tithes in *Ireland* are not “a great practical evil?”—Let him reflect that corn-bounties were necessary to defeat a part of their injurious operation on agriculture, that they are a grievous addition to the other burdens of an oppressed peasantry, and that they impede the progress of religion and seriously injure the morals of the people: let him reflect on these things, and he will retract his assertion?—Does any man, acquainted with Ireland, believe that the unprotected and dependent state of the Catholic Priesthood has been beneficial to the interests of the country, and to the instruction and civilization of its inhabitants?—No, none will be found to believe this, nor will any man possessed of the least liberality of sentiment, defend the wisdom or policy of a penal code, reprobated by the wisest and most enlightened statesmen.

And yet, my Lords and Gentlemen, clear and obvious as are these truths to every reflecting mind in Ireland, I may venture to assert that with a considerable proportion of the people of England, and of both Houses of Parliament, they are very equivocal truths, and that though the incorporation of the two kingdoms has obviated the only well founded objections to the concession of the entire, less difficulty, and fewer prejudices would have existed in an Irish legislature than have been manifested in their discussion by the Imperial Parliament. The reason is obvious; the Irish legislature, as might naturally be expected, were better acquainted with the wants and interests of the country, and when *permitted* by the British Cabinet, did not hesitate to relieve the one and promote the other.

As then, my Lords and Gentlemen, you have, after a confessed mismanagement of her on the part of England, once more obtained the supremacy in Ireland, and have, in times the most critical, resumed the responsibility of legislating for her, it is doubly incumbent on you to ascertain whether any of the objections entertained against any of the measures herein proposed, be founded in reason or prejudice—it is incumbent on you to decide, and that quickly, whether your country shall be sacrificed to these prejudices, and whether, at a moment like the present, when the Continent of Europe is subjugated to the will of a military despot, when these Islands, the only refuge and retreat of expiring liberty, are reduced to the necessity of contending for their existence, a system shall be persevered in, by which Ireland may be irrevocably alienated, and perhaps ultimately thrown into the arms of our inveterate foe, unless by an alteration of measures, you sooth her animosities, and conciliate her affections.

You are now, my Lords and Gentlemen, assembling to deliberate under the most awful aspect of affairs, which England or perhaps the world has ever presented. Matters of
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the most urgent importance await your determination, and the eyes of millions are anxiously turned towards you—with you it is left to decide the fate of these kingdoms, and to determine the result of a crisis fast hastening to its termination. The enemy is hemming us in on every side: when he is at our gates, that is not the best time for appeasing discord within the walls, and turning the arms and hearts of the discontented against him.—Now it is not too late—lose the present moment, and who can say you will be in time. The Petition of the Irish Catholics will shortly be laid on your table.—Anticipate it if possible—if not, answer it by bringing the whole state of Ireland, and all its grievances under discussion; take up the question in all its bearings, and in undertaking this arduous task remember that its difficulty is not greater than its importance. Through Ireland it is admitted, that England can most vitally be assailed, through Ireland discontented, disunited and oppressed—a burden on England, a mill-stone around her neck. It is as undeniable, that by soothing her animosities, and redressing her wrongs, you may convert her into an impregnable fortress and a tower of strength, but to effect this, prejudices must be overcome, and concessions must be made: largesses must not, as heretofore be doled out, they must be given with a liberal and open hand, “*not grudgingly or of necessity*, for God loveth a chearful giver.”—Half measures will not do: they are, my Lords and Gentlemen, worse than useless, in as much as, (to use the very remarkable words of a celebrated character) “*des grandes mesures sagement ordonnées conduisent au bonheur d’un Etat; des demi-moyens sont les ressources des petites têtes: ils accélèrent le chute des empires avec l’inutile regret d’avoir fait pour le mieux.*” How true also is the observation of the excellent Beccaria: “*unhappily, he says, the most simple, the easiest, yet the wisest laws, that wait only for the nod of the legislature,*

to

to diffuse through nations wealth, power and felicity, laws which would be regarded by future generations with eternal gratitude, are either unknown or rejected: *a restless and trifling spirit, the timid prudence of the present moment, a distrust and aversion to the most useful novelties*, possess the minds of those who are empowered to regulate the actions of mankind.” Does not the fate of Spain furnish us with a melancholy instance of the truth of these doctrines—let the history of that ill-starred and unhappy country for the last 18 months make a due impression on our minds. Can we for a moment be blinded to the error of its rulers, a reluctance to make concessions to a benighted and oppressed people, a disinclination to reform abuses, however monstrous or glaring. What man now looks for a successful issue to their struggles.—The people, while elated with hopes of redress, were enthusiastic, ardent, and victorious. Redress was delayed beyond the period of seasonable concession, their rulers feared to remedy the grievances of the people, or would fain have flattered themselves that without such measures they might succeed, and that for them the people would be willing to sacrifice their lives, and their fortunes. Mistaken or treacherous men, ye did not disarm the enemy—you left him unblunted his strongest weapon—you left him abuses to reform—grievances to redress—concessions to make. Who then can wonder that this rich and populous country, gifted so highly by God, so abused by man, must ultimately submit to the government of a detested invader and bend its neck to a galling yoke, though imposed by treachery, and maintained by cruelty and force.* But let us turn from this gloomy picture and behold in the state of Hungary a pleasing contrast—let the one convince us of the necessity, the other of the advantages of timely conciliation.

Hungary,

* The noble struggles of the Spanish and Tyrolese peasantry furnish the most gratifying and satisfactory proof, how much may be effected by a loyal though undisciplined people against the most veteran troops and experienced generals.

Hungary, my Lords and Gentlemen, previous to the year 1791, had its establishments civil and ecclesiastical, exclusively Catholic, though containing a very considerable number of Protestants, Calvinists and Jews—its population not exceeding that of Ireland, and like it, long convulsed by the difference of religious tenets, and the political restrictions founded on them—its inhabitants a brave, generous, but high spirited, and resentful people. Their hereditary and inveterate animosity to the Germans, whom they had ever considered as lawless usurpers and tyrants, the scourge and ruin of their country, and viewed with an abhorrence that seemed incurable, and reached to every thing German, to laws, manners, and even language, as well as government, had to a certain degree been softened down by the good management of Maria Teresa, whose marked attention and favour to this people was probably not more to be attributed to gratitude than to a just and wise system of policy, a system which, had it been continued with equal wisdom by her son Joseph, would have quickly obliterated all ancient animosities, and national prejudices. Their feelings however were on the contrary insulted, and these animosities revived by the ill conduct of Joseph—the consequence was a most formidable conspiracy of the great Palatines, and principal nobility to emancipate their country from the Austrian yoke, and to recover their independence and rank among nations. Such was the disordered and critical state, in which Leopold on his brother's death found the noblest portion of his heritage. Previous to his Coronation as King of Hungary, a number of articles were submitted to him for signature by its discontented Diet: these Leopold, after mature deliberation, positively refused to subscribe, considering those who made the demands as too importunate and peremptory, and some of the articles themselves to trench too much on the royal prerogative.—The discontented were numerous, and now firmly bent on revolution, when
their

their intemperance, aided by the good fortune of Leopold, led to the expulsion of 50 of the most violent from the Diet. A moderate and patriotic party however remained, considerable in number, and respectable in rank, a party that did not wish an absolute separation of the kingdom from the Austrian dominions after so long and intimate a connexion between them, now endeared by habit, and cemented by numberless ties of friendship, affinity and mutual kindness. They sent a supplementary diploma to that usually signed and sworn to by their Monarchs. — Leopold declared he was firmly resolved not to approve or confirm by oath, any other than that subscribed by his mother, but that after his coronation he would not refuse to listen to the grievances, the wishes and supplications of his faithful states, and after mature public deliberation to adopt resolutions thereon, agreeable to the spirit of the laws, and the true interests of the realm. — He concluded with expressing his expectation, that the states would co-operate with zeal and fidelity in the accomplishment of these objects, as they might be certain on his part, that whatever was conformable to the laws, whatever did not derogate from the royal rights, in a word, whatever could contribute to the general good, he would freely concur in. Notwithstanding all the bickerings that had taken place, and the numberless jealousies that had so long subsisted, Leopold was in consequence of these declarations received at Presburg with every mark of the utmost joy and enthusiasm, both by the states and the people: and the Diet, as a signal instance of their loyalty and attachment, requested the appointment of his fourth son, as their Palatine, a request he gladly complied with*. — On the installation of his son, an occasion of great

*The character of this noble minded Prince, cannot be better illustrated, than in his address to his Son on presenting him to the Hungarians as their Palatine: "I hope, said he, you will never forget that you are my Son; but should it ever be your lot in the execution of your Office,

great joy and festivity, they again renewed their applications to Leopold, previous to his own coronation: but adhering to his former firmness, he declared that he would receive the crown, on no other conditions, than those on which it had been accepted by his mother, as he thought its lustre and the honor attached to it would be tarnished, if it were made the subject of a barter. After this display of firmness, which seemed approaching to ungracious obstinacy, the admiration, gratitude and joy of the Hungarians may more easily be conceived than described, when on the day succeeding his coronation, he *of his own free motion*, when every hope of concession was at an end, granted them every favourable condition, and every future security, which they could with reason and with propriety desire. *

He granted universal toleration for all religious sects, and established a perfect political equality among his Hungarian subjects. What have been the consequences? Was the Constitution in Church and State thereby endangered? Let facts answer the question.—Nineteen years have now elapsed since these concessions were made, and in that space of time has Hungarian loyalty thrice upheld the Austrian monarchy, and on the fourth and last occasion saved it from utter annihilation. After the decisive defeats of Clagenfurth, Hohenlinden and Austerlitz, the unbroken strength and steady loyalty of this warlike

office, to be obliged to defend the rights of the nation against your Father, I desire you will then forget you are my Son, and that you will strictly act in support of the laws."—Well have his children been repaid for the generous conduct of their Father to the people of Hungary.

*Leopold's concessions were made at the close of the year 1790.—1791, when the Diet agreed upon a final settlement, the rights of the Protestants were confirmed by a Majority of 207, only 84 members having voted against them; 181 of their warmest friends were Magnates and the greater part of these Catholics.—Shall a British and a Protestant senate in the 19th century be found less liberal than an Hungarian and Catholic diet?

warlike nation, enabled the unfortunate Francis to make peace without any essential sacrifice of territory, and after the the fatal battles of Ratisbon and Wagram, Hungarian fidelity was alone instrumental in preventing the total extinction of the Austrian name. The unexampled attachment and incorruptible loyalty, evinced by the Hungarians on this occasion, furnish too memorable an instance of a nation's gratitude to be passed by without particular mention. At the commencement, and during the progress of the Campaign of 1809, no doubt can be entertained of Buonaparte's determination to number Austria among the powers that had been *, but to accomplish

* In the 8th Bulletin, (published at the same time with his Proclamation to the Hungarians) and which as usual makes others speak his own sentiments, he states that "the fate of the House of Lorraine was foreseen by all intelligent persons, though in other respects of the most different opinion. Manfredini represented to the Emperor that this war would bring the downfall of his house. Thugut took the liberty of making repeated representations of the same nature. The Prince De Ligne said aloud, I thought I was old enough not to have outlived the Austrian monarchy.—And when the old Count Wallis saw the Emperor set out to join the army, he said, "There is Darius going to meet another Alexander: he will experience the same fate." Lewis Von Cobentzell, the chief promoter of the war of 1805, was at this time lying on his death bed, but 24 hours before he expired, he addressed a vigorous and animated letter to the Emperor. "Your Majesty, he wrote, ought to consider yourself fortunate with respect to the situation, in which the peace of Presburgh has placed you. Avoid a war for which no provocation was given, and which will produce the ruin of your house, Napoleon will conquer, and will then have the right to be inexorable." The Bulletin further adds, that every wise man in the Empire was of the same opinion, but that the pride of the Emperor, the hatred of the Archduke, and the gold of England prevailed, and then concludes with the exclamation, "weak Princes! corrupt Cabinets! ignorant, fickle and besotted men! Such are the snares which England for 15 years constantly spread for you, and into which you will readily fall. But the catastrophe you prepared is at length developed, and the peace of the Continent is for ever secured."

accomplish this object, past experience had convinced him that he must first detach Hungary from her, and weaken or destroy the connection between them. Aware however, that force could not avail with a people so constituted, he assails their prejudices as a nation, he endeavours to revive their ancient animosities against Austria, and then by the most liberal promises of protection and support, to seduce them to relinquish Austrian connection. From Vienna, the capital of the Austrian monarch, he addresses to them one of the most artful productions perhaps ever penned, and confident of its success he at the same moment in his usual emphatic but arrogant manner, pronounces the downfall of the Austrian power. He tells them, that God, who is the giver of victory, and who punishes ingratitude and perfidy, has been favourable to his arms. “ I have entered, he says, the capital of
 “ Austria, and find myself on your frontiers. It is the Em-
 “ peror of Austria, not the King of Hungary who has de-
 “ clared war against me; according to your constitution he
 “ could not declare war without your consent—your steady
 “ defensive system, and the measures adopted in the last
 “ diet, have sufficiently proved, that your wish was the main-
 “ tenance of peace. Hungarians—The moment for recover-
 “ ing your independence is arrived—I offer you the inviola-
 “ bility of your territory, of your freedom, and of your con-
 “ stitution, whether the latter shall remain as it now subsists,
 “ or whether it shall be modified by yourselves in such manner,
 “ as the spirit of the times, and the interest of your fellow-
 “ citizens may appear to you to require. I want nothing from
 “ you, I desire only to see you a free and independent nation.
 “ Your connection with Austria has been for you most un-
 “ fortunate; for that connection your blood has often flowed
 “ in distant lands, and your dearest interests have been sacri-
 “ ficed to those of the hereditary Austrian states; you form
 “ the most interesting part of the Empire, and yet you have
 “ been

“ been regarded only as a conquered province, and made the
 “ victims of passions, which to you were altogether foreign;
 “ you possess the distinction of national manners and national
 “ language, you are justly proud of your ancient and illustrious origin. Resume then your existence as a nation.—
 “ Have a King of your own choosing, who shall govern for
 “ you only, who shall reside in the midst of you, who shall be
 “ surrounded by your own citizens and soldiers.—This, Hungarians, is what all Europe whose eyes are now turned
 “ towards you, expects from you; this also is required of
 “ you by me.—An eternal peace, commercial relations, a
 “ confirmed independence—such is the high reward that
 “ awaits you, if you be worthy of your ancestors and of
 “ yourselves. You will not reject this frank and generous
 “ offer—you will no longer shed your blood for weak Princes,
 “ the puppets of ministers sold to England, the enemy of the
 “ Continent, whose prosperity is founded on monopoly and
 “ our dissensions. Assemble then in national Diet according
 “ to the customs of your forefathers, on the plains of Racos,
 “ and let me know your decision.”

Had such a Proclamation been addressed to this gallant people before the concessions of Leopold, how eagerly and gratefully would it have been received, how irresistible would have been its operation on Hungarian minds—but in vain did he now recal the remembrance of ancient feuds, in vain did he provoke their jealousy and animosity against Austria, in vain did he make the most alluring promises, in vain did he offer them that, which above all things they were known to desire, *their independence*.—The father of Francis had been their benefactor: they would not forsake *his* children in time of trouble or necessity. The artifices of the seducer were unavailing: he had no abuses to reform: no grievances to redress, and though decidedly victorious in a subsequent battle, was compelled to restore Vienna to its rightful Sovereign,

reign, and to leave Austria still possessed of a name and an independence. Such were the fruits of Austrian generosity—of Hungarian gratitude.

After the detail already given can it be necessary, my Lords and Gentlemen, to enlarge upon the very striking analogy existing between Hungary and Ireland, in extent, fertility and population,—in the origin, genius and character of their inhabitants,—in their history and in the peculiar grievances under which they have separately labored—in their singular connection with a neighbouring state—in the temptations employed to estrange them from that state, and in the attempts made to dissolve that connection:—or can it be necessary to observe that this analogy fails in part at the accession of Leopold, *for* Hungarian grievances have been redressed: *for* an Hungarian Diet still exists. Can it be necessary, my Lords and Gentlemen, to add, that Irish attachment is as essential to English security, as Hungarian fidelity to Austrian independence.—Is Ireland less the object of seduction than Hungary?—Is Ireland more difficult of seduction?—Can equal claims, my Lords and Gentlemen, be made on Irish, as on Hungarian gratitude?—Or are the hearts of the Irish people less assailable?—Are their resentments more implacable?

I fear, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have trespassed on your patience, and that the deep interest I feel in the welfare of my country, may have led me into tedious details; you will however, I have no doubt, in consideration of the motive, pardon the individual, who with the utmost sincerity and with the greatest respect subscribes himself,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your obedient and humble

Dublin,
January, 1810.

Servant.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

AS a Title-page ought to convey to the reader a certain portion of information as to the nature and extent of the matter treated of, and as much additional matter has been introduced in the present Edition of the *ENQUIRY* into the *HISTORY OF TITHE*, it has accordingly been deemed requisite to make an alteration in the Title of the Work. The additions consist chiefly of an *ADDRESS* to the members of the Imperial Parliament on the present situation of the British Empire, and of an *APPENDIX*, containing a concise view of the History and ruinous consequences of our foreign expenditure. On this latter subject, the reader will find a detail not devoid of interest, and a proposal, though new, yet neither unreasonable nor extravagant for alleviating the many evils, which have arisen from that prolific source of our national misfortunes.

The subject of Tithes had been so fully treated of in the first Edition, that little room was left for additional matter. In the Appendix, however, will be found the Rev. Mr. Howlett's plan of commutation, with some preliminary observations.

In pages 39, 40, and 41, the interesting and important question of Catholic Emancipation is discussed, and that of the negative interference of the Crown in the appointment of the Catholic Prelates, in pages 101 and 2. The other matters treated of in the Work, may be found on a reference to the annexed Table of Contents.

To assist the Irish Landlord in the execution of the proposal, contained in page 79, two plates have been prefixed to the Work, with designs and estimates of a Farm House and Cottage. These have been furnished by an eminent Architect with that liberality, which it is hoped will characterise the conduct of those, whose province it is to carry them into execution.

To render the Work itself still more deserving of the new Title it has assumed, it had been the Author's intention to have considered at greater length, the very neglected condition of our Irish poor, and to have suggested some remedies for the amelioration thereof. He had it also in contemplation to submit some observations respecting a more expeditious and economical mode of administering justice in certain cases, wherein its present high price has become a most serious grievance.—These however are subjects deferred—not relinquished.

ERRATA.

Page 29, line 6. For assignment, *read*, agistment.

— 33, 13. For diminutions, *read*, diminution.

— 89, 7. } For eleven, *read*, thirteen.
— 106, 21, }

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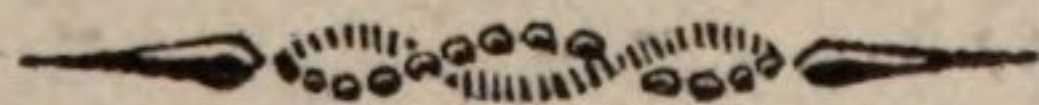
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CHAPTER I.

General History of Tithes : Among the Jews : Among Christians : Political Effects of that System in Ireland.

TITHE, at present and for many centuries past the *legal* maintenance of the established church in christian countries, was among the Jews an institution of *divine* origin, having been appointed by the Deity for the support of the tribe of Levi, which in place of the first-born of Jewish children was wholly devoted to his service. An argument having been drawn from these two circumstances in favour of the system itself, which states that if it were not the *best possible* maintenance for the clergy, it would not, in the *first* instance, have been instituted for that purpose by the Deity, nor, in the *second* instance, been imitated for its propriety and its policy by the different nations of Christendom, it cannot be amiss to consider, in the *first* place, the nature and character of that institution among the Jews, and in the *second* the cause of its first introduction into the Christian church; such an enquiry may probably disclose to us, what those circumstances were, which rendered it not only expedient but indispensable with the Jewish people and whether among Christians at the present day it be equally necessary or advisable.

Without entering into any consideration of the question for what purpose the Jews were selected as a peculiar and favoured people, it will here suffice to observe that they were more *immediately* appointed for the reception and preservation of the knowledge of one true God, and more *remotely* destined to prepare the world for the coming of the Messiah. To accomplish these ob-

jects it became necessary to estrange them as much as possible from the Pagan nations surrounding them: accordingly their laws and institutions in effecting the former purpose, have a powerful and direct tendency to prevent all connexion with the neighbouring states. During the period of their journeying in the wilderness, they were daily instructed in the regulations by which they were to be governed when possessed of the land of promise: and at this time it was, that the tribe of Levi, the least numerous of all the tribes, was selected for the peculiar service of the Deity, and though all were then fed by manna and far removed from the land promised unto them, yet was it expressly enjoined that in the land that tribe should have no inheritance, but that the Lord God of Israel and his sacrifices should alone be their inheritance. The Land of Promise when subdued was partitioned among the tribes of Israel with the omission of that of Levi; now this tribe was as fairly entitled to a portion of the land as any of the others: therefore when for weighty reasons they were separated to the Lord and deprived of this their right, the exercise of which must have unfitted them for the service to which they were devoted, it became a matter of equity, of policy and of necessity to allot them a certain portion of the income of the remainder: and in *this point of view* tithe was nothing more than a compensation to the Levite for the sacrifice he had made of his portion of the land, and as each tribe had benefited alike by this sacrifice and as each family held land that was inalienable, the tithe of their increase was the most equal, just and expedient applotment that can well be conceived, and it was paid to him in kind, that he might attend without interruption to the peculiar functions of his office. Thus tithe, which as now constituted is in reality a tax laid on after the land was in possession of the original proprietors, cannot among the Jews be so denominated, both because it was instituted before the land came into their hands, and because the other tribes received an ample equivalent in the portion of Levi for the deduction made from their produce for the support of that tribe. But independent of this consideration, in which the Jews differed from every other nation, among whom tithe was afterwards established, there was another and still more striking difference: **THE JEWS HAD NO RENTS TO PAY, SAVE THESE VERY TITHES THEMSELVES:** for they held independent of all temporal superiors, by a tenure direct from the Lord, to whose servant the Levite, they rendered the tithe in acknowledgment of that tenure
and

and as the rent of their land (1): to the Jew therefore tithe must have been of little moment, as few complaints would now be heard from the laity, if a tenth of the produce of their lands could satisfy their clergy and their landlord (2). And further still, in the payment of *tithe*, their *only* rent, they were as would appear from every passage relating to the subject, entirely exempt from the controul, from the oppression and exactions of interested and merciless agents: they were left to themselves to set it apart fairly and to bring it in voluntarily (3). Thus then it is plain that among the Jews tithe was not liable to any one of those solid objections which at present lie against it, because

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(1) Doctor Graves, in his very admirable exposition of the four last Books of the Pentateuch states that it appeared by calculation each yeoman had from 6 to 26 acres of land, which as he observes, "they held independent of all temporal superiors, by direct tenure from the Lord Jehovah their Sovereign, by whose power they were to acquire their territory, and under whose protection only they could retain it." The Jews themselves taught that tithe partook so much of the nature of rent, as that no man had a right to the nine parts till he had given God the tenth: thus Rabbi Bechai says, "If thou pay the tithe, it is thy corn: if not, it is my corn; if thou pay the tithe, it is thy wine, if not, it is my wine."

(2) The Jews, though a very querulous people, yet never once appear to have raised their voices against the payment of tithe: they must have been very unreasonable indeed had they done so, for there was no landlord among them whose income could be affected by such a deduction for the Levite, and there was no tenant who could with reason complain of this the only return required of him. This unavoidable clashing of interest between the landlord and clergy gave rise, as we shall hereafter see, to that vote of agistment in Ireland, which stripped the latter of a great share of their income. "There were some Gentlemen, says Primate Boulter (in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole in 1737) who have let their lands so high that without robbing the clergy of their just dues, they are satisfied their rents can hardly be paid, and others fall in with them that they may be able to raise their lands as high, and the controversy here is, not whether the farmer shall be eased of an unreasonable burden, but whether the parson shall have his due, or the landlord a greater rent."

(3) Josephus, Book 9: Ch. 13: states that Hezekiah after the idolatrous reign of Ahaz, on opening the temple and renewing the religious rights, restored the tithes to the Levites and he adds that the multitude accordingly brought together all sorts of fruits to the Priests and Levites, and that the King made garners and receptacles for these fruits and distributed them to every one of the Priests and Levites, and to their children and wives.—The Jews however became negligent of bringing in the tithes soon after the new dedication of the temple under Maccabeus, so that overseers were shortly appointed to take care that this tithe was regularly paid in.—*Vide Nettles on Jewish tithe.*

in the first place the Levite was justly entitled to it as an equivalent for sacrifices made on his part: because in the second place, it was the only rent paid by them for their lands: and in the third place, because they were not harassed with that all-devouring locust of this country, the tithe-farmer (1). And thus it appears that from the peculiar constitution of the Jewish people, the tithe-system among them was not only innoxious, but in the highest degree expedient and equitable, though in the nations of Christendom it may have proved itself obnoxious to the promotion of religion, agriculture and population. Consequently the divine institution of tithe among the Jews cannot be urged as an argument for the continuance of that system among Christians at the present day, but on the contrary furnishes us with reasons the most conclusive for substituting in its place some other mode of maintaining our clergy.

Neither will the subsequent establishment of tithes among Christians furnish the supporters of that system with arguments more satisfactory or convincing: inasmuch as it is notorious that for several centuries, during which the Christian church existed in its greatest purity, such a thing was utterly unknown, and as it is plain from historic records, that its revival was entirely owing to necessity in the first instance and to that ignorance of finance among uncivilised nations which unfitted them for providing by any act of legislative wisdom a better and more advisable support for the clergy. Their establishment, which was first made in France, originated after the following manner: towards the beginning of the 8th century the clergy having contrived to get into their possession most of the landed estates in that kingdom,

(1) From some passages in the Scriptures it might be supposed that the Levites did not receive the tenth of the increase of each year, but the thirtieth part only, that is, that they received the tithe but once in three years: this conclusion might appear very strongly warranted by the 22d. and following verses in the 14th Chap. of Deuteronomy and also by the 12th verse in the 26th Chap. of the same Book. The apparent inconsistency however is explained away by Selden in his History of tithes, for it is the opinion of Jewish Commentators and Rabbis that there were at the least two species of tithe among the Jews: *one* the full tenth of the increase given to the Levite: the *other* the tenth of the remainder, which two years out of three they themselves consumed in their religious festivals and was then called the tithe of the feasts: every third year this tithe was given to the poor and they then denominated it the poor man's tithe. This second species of tithe is that which it would appear is spoken of in the passages of Deuteronomy above alluded to.

dom, Pepin made himself master of the Monarchy by protecting them: but the evil, having by that time risen to its utmost height, soon found a remedy, for policy compelled his son Charles Martel to strip them of their possessions and bestow these upon his followers, as otherwise he could not maintain his power, so that when Charlemain came to the throne, he found, as Montesquieu observes, all the church estates in the hands of the soldiery, as his Grand-father had found the landed estates in the hands of the clergy. The former could not be compelled to restore a voluntary donation and the circumstances of that time rendered the thing still more impracticable than it seemed to be of its own nature. On the other hand Christianity ought not to have been lost for want of ministers, churches and instructors." This was the reason, says Montesquieu, of Charlemain establishing the tithes, a *new* kind of property which had this advantage in favour of the clergy, that as they were given particularly to the church, it was easier in process of time to know when they were usurped. He was obliged to set the example of enforcing their payment on his own demesnes; but as the commonalty are rarely influenced by example to sacrifice their interests, he was also compelled to bring in superstition to his aid, in which he was powerfully assisted by the clergy, whose necessities and interests induced them to preach up the payment of tithes as the essence of religion, and to amplify and enforce it with all their eloquence (1) and yet Charlemain's project did not succeed at first, until by degrees the people consented to pay the tithes upon condition that they might have a power of redeeming them (2): and "thus, says Montesquieu, the laws of Charlemain with regard to the establishment of tithes were a work not of *superstition* but of *necessity*, a work, in short, in

(1) "The second of Frankfort, says Montesquieu, (held under Charlemain in the year 794) furnished them with a more cogent reason to pay the tithes. A Capitulary was made in that synod, wherein it is said that in the last famine the spikes of corn were found to contain no seed, the infernal spirits having devoured it all, and that those spirits had been heard to reproach them with not having paid the tithes: in consequence of which it was ordained that all those who were seized of Church lands should pay the tithes, and the next consequence was that the obligation extended to all."

Spirit of Laws: Book 31. Chap 12

(2) This power of redemption was abolished by Lewis le Debonnaire and by his Son the Emperor Lotharius.

in which religion only was concerned" (1). By degrees this system gained footing in those countries where the christian religion had been already planted, and in process of time as favourable opportunities offered for its introduction, it was established in such others as were afterwards converted to that religion, though never in the first instance transplanted along with it, for it is to be feared its progress would have been but slow, had the people been given to understand that the embracing christianity must have been immediately followed by the payment of tithe. After this manner and according to Blackstone a few years later than in France, it was legally established in England, and in Ireland at a much later period; for tithe was not known in the christian church when St. Patrick propagated the doctrines of christianity in that Island, and there is no reason to imagine that its payment was exacted by his successors, so long as their church was independent of Rome, whose jurisdiction was not even nominally acknowledged there till the year 1152, when the four archbishops were for the first time invested with the Pall. This fact must appear probable from the Bull of Adrian to Henry II. in which he alledges one of his motives for granting that Bull to have been "the enlarging the borders of the church": it is also plainly evident from the Decrees of the Synod held at Cashel shortly after the invasion of the Island by that Prince, in which among many ordinances *then new* to the Irish, it was enjoined that tithes be regularly paid; the following extract from the Manuscript Annals of Ireland in Primate Marsh's Library puts it out of question: "An. 1224. This yeare in ye tyme of Chaulus the red first King of Connaught, tythes began to be paid legally in Ireland."

From

(1) The learned Father Paul in his deservedly celebrated History of Ecclesiastical Benefices states, p. 36, the revival of tithes to be owing to the French Abbots taking the field as Soldiers and for that purpose taking the whole of the Church goods into their hands: hence the poor priests were once more thrown upon the liberality of the People, which as it varied considerably in different places led at length to a fixed establishment: the Priests called loudly for tithes as of divine right and all the Sermons of those times and for some ages after, without touching upon matters of faith, were all directed to prove the obligation to the payment of tithes and this they carried so far as to place all Christian perfection in that one thing and to denounce the vengeance of Heaven upon all those who could neglect so important a duty. The stile of these Sermons discovers some of them to have been made about the year 800: and History puts it out of all doubt that there never were any tithes paid either in Africa or in the East, and that they owe their original to France.

From the general policy adopted by the Roman Church, and the self-interested views of particular institutions, both lands and tithes in every country in Europe became vested in the latter to a very large amount, which tended at the time to engender gross abuses in the church government, and afterwards when these possessions were seized by the Crown at the reformation and conferred upon laymen, gave rise to that singular and monstrous anomaly of *Lay-impropriations*. Tithes also which had been originally allotted for four different purposes, by degrees lost sight of two of these, and were, previous to the reformation, confined to the clergy and to the poor, for the latter were supported at the Monasteries and other houses of the irregular clergy, it being then understood that this was one of the purposes for which tithes were paid to these houses; and it followed of course, that after their suppression in 1543, and the alienation of their funds, the poor were every where reduced to a deplorable state of distress: in consequence of this support being withdrawn great clamours ensued in England, till at length in the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth the poor rates were established to remedy this evil. Ireland, though subjected to the same cause of distress, happily escaped this most grievous burden, which in the sister country together with tithes now amount to near nine millions annually: this exemption was probably owing to the turbulent state of this Island, to the little attention then paid to her internal police, but more especially to the greater facility with which the poorest individual can there maintain himself and a family: besides this, the hospitality of the lowest peasant must have prevented any outcries from the beggar, "who, as Young remarks, ever seats himself to the Irishman's potatoe bowl with a hearty welcome."

From the unsettled state in which Ireland remained both before and for some time after the reformation, tithes were in that country of no great value, and as the Irish church partook of all the agitations in which the kingdom was involved, the maintenance of its ministers was equally fluctuating and uncertain: "All the Irish priests, says Spencer in his state of Ireland, which now enjoy the church livings are in a manner mere laymen, live like laymen and follow all kinds of husbandrie and other worldly affaires:" and in another place he observes "that the benefices are so mean and of so small profit in these Irish countreyes thro' the ill husbandrie of the natives, they will not yield any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon." And

Primate

Primate Boulter in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole, states that "since the reformation, whilst the lands were mostly in popish hands, the clergy took what they could get *thankfully*, and very few went near their livings to do duty" Things remained pretty much in this state till the surrender of Limerick gave to England a permanent dominion in Ireland. Benefices then fell exclusively into the possession of protestant rectors, who now dispersed themselves over the face of the country, and having at length recovered from a long reign of anarchy and terror began by degrees to reclaim their just rights and dues. Accordingly about the year 1720 they demanded the tithe of agistment, for the recovery of which when resisted they applied to the Court of Exchequer with that success to which their undoubted right entitled them. Tithes having been allotted as the legal maintenance of the clergy, they were unquestionably entitled to a tenth of every thing in reason tithable: that the tithe of agistment was a fair tithe, common sense and the custom of England must pronounce: that it was at that period still more requisite in Ireland than England, the vastly greater proportion of pasture, and the very low state of tillage in the former must demonstrate (1); and that it was a *new* and *unheard of* demand is by no means evident, though from the disordered state of the country and of its church since the days of Charles the first it may very clearly be explained, why it had not hitherto been usually demanded (2). Resistance however was very generally made to the payment of this tithe about the year 1734, at which period a most violent spirit prevailed, not among the *peasantry* but the *landlords* to attack the income of the church (3). Most unfortunately

(1) It is calculated that during Primate Boulter's administration, which commenced in 1724 and ended about 1738, not more than a fortieth part of the land was under tillage. This calculation is strongly countenanced by a Bill brought into Parliament in 1727 to compel every person to till 5 at least out of every hundred acres he possessed.

(2) 33d. Henry the 8th Ch. 12. This act was passed to enforce the due payment of tithe in Ireland: the preamble speaks of the tithe of Pasturage being like that of Hay, Corn, &c. an accustomed tithe: hence it is obvious that the tithe of agistment was not unknown in Ireland. This act was passed in the year 1542 to compel the Irish to pay their tithes to the lay impropriators, which they very generally refused to do, as it appeared to them a most monstrous application of that species of property.

(3) The conduct of the Landholders on this occasion was to the full as reprehensible and illegal as that of the White-Boys in a subsequent period, for as Primate Boulter states, "associations were entered into by most of the lay Lords and Commoners to join against agistment, and the like associations were sent down to most Counties against the assizes and signed in most,

fortunately for the clergy, and more unfortunately still for the country, the persons principally, if not solely, affected by this tithe were those best able to bear it, namely the great graziers and protestant proprietors of land, who as they possessed considerable influence *directly* and *indirectly* in the House of Commons, brought the question before that *interested* tribunal on two different occasions, and by raising false alarms eventually succeeded in deterring the clergy from making, and the Courts of Justice from entertaining any demands for this tithe, though no legal legislative act was passed for its abolition till the year 1800. What the necessary and unavoidable consequences of this injurious measure must have been, it was easy to foresee: by it the clergy were thrown from the rich grazier and the protestant proprietor of extensive tracts of land, upon the poor catholic peasant for support, from *those*, who were able and ought to be willing to pay their own pastors, upon *those* who were confessedly the poorest and most degraded in the land, and who almost *to a man* had a clergy of their own to provide for: by it they were driven from "the demesne of the gentleman to the garden of the cottager," to draw their subsistence from those who were already starving. Had the rectors been allowed their fair demand on agistment, which at that time constituted the chief source of their revenue, they would have been enabled to exercise great lenity in their dealings, and to indulge the natural humanity of their dispositions towards the poorer husbandman, from whom by that unjust, impolitic and interested vote of the House of Commons, they were obliged to derive their support. From this imprudent and very culpable interference of one branch of the Legislature, which so materially curtailed the income of the clergy, they were reduced to the indispensable necessity of either taking the tithe in kind or of encreasing the composition upon articles already

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paying

most, though refused in some, and a common purse was to be raised in each county to support any one there that should be sued for agistment. There was, he adds, a rage stirred up against the clergy that equalled any thing that had been seen against the popish priests in the most dangerous times, though the clergy behaved themselves with a temper that surprized their enemies." In 1731, antecedent to this event, when writing to the Bishop of London, he thus strongly characterises the temper of the Irish landlords towards the clergy: "it is very happy for us of the clergy here that our brethren in England are able to stand their ground, for if you are once borne down, all that may pass in England against the clergy will seem to be acts of calmness and temper in respect of those warm attacks that would soon be made on us here."

paying tithe, and even in some instances, to procure a decent livelihood, were compelled to demand an obnoxious tithe on articles hitherto usually exempted from it. Necessity having thus driven the clergy to measures so disagreeable, it cannot be supposed that any great share of inclination existed on the part of the peasantry to comply with regulations so new and so injurious to them: they murmured and often refused payment: hence the clergy unwilling to bring personal odium on themselves were led to a much more general employment of proctors: a remedy far worse than the disease, for it did not exempt them from that odium they wished to avoid, and it added considerably to those exactions on the peasantry, which it was their desire to lessen. Still however all was borne quietly by the wretched tiller of the ground, who, though he must have internally grumbled or openly expressed his dissatisfaction at enjoying the exclusive privilege of supporting our clergy and his own, yet was never known to have once violently resisted the payment of tithe from the period of that celebrated vote in 1735 till the year 1760, when a peculiar combination of circumstances contributed to fan a flame to this day not completely *extinguished*.

The disturbances which then took place have been variously represented and as variously accounted for: being somewhat removed from that period and so far exempt from its peculiar prejudices, we are now perhaps better qualified to judge of the real sources of grievance than those who then endeavoured to explain them: these may be fairly traced by such as are skilled in the agricultural history of the period to the three following: viz. *rack rents, low prices of labour and tithe*. Tithe, though so generally blamed as the sole cause, I have placed last, because had the two former not existed, the poorest peasant would in all probability not have refused or resisted its payment, if required without exaction or insult. For some time previous to 1760 an Epidemic had raged among cattle through the greater part of Europe, which from its great mortality necessarily contributed to a considerable rise in the prices of flesh meat and consequently in the value of pasture lands. In Ireland land rose very generally, extensive *takes* for pasture were made, commons were enclosed and the poor husbandman compelled either to resign his farm or to hold it at an extravagant rack rent. The cottier besides paid an enormous rent for his potatoe garden, while the price of his labour with which he discharged that rent, was estimated as shamefully low.

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Under this state of oppression from his landlord (too generally a middleman) is it surprising that at such a time and under such circumstances he should feel and complain of tithe as a grievous and additional burden: is it to be wondered at that scarcely able to live and pay his rent, he should complain of being called on, perhaps by an insolent agent, to give a tenth of his hard earnings to the ministers of a religion *not his own*. Landlords, full well knowing what a large share of blame attached to them, and that a reduction of rents could alone effectually alleviate the burdens of the poor, endeavoured and with too much success to throw a great portion of it upon the church, the exactions and cruelty of whose agents in too many instances gave a more than colourable pretext for the charge (1.) The miserable wretches rose in arms to redress grievances that had been too long overlooked, and yet however irritated they might have been by the inhumanity of proctors or prejudiced by the insinuations of their landlords, they did not hesitate in fixing on *high and exorbitant rents* as one great source of their oppressions: these together with *increased* rateage for tithe, *cruel* modes of exaction, and the very *low* price of labour constituted the chief grievances of which they complained.

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Arthur

(1) Lord Clare, then the Attorney General, when this subject was discussed in Parliament, stated that he knew the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by their relentless landlords: he knew that so far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they had not food, nor raiment for themselves; even some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, "not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid."—The clergy too, besides the odium arising from the frequent misconduct of their own proctors, undergo more or less the whole of that detestation, consequent on the severe and abominable exactions of lay-impropriators, who in this kingdom possess a full third of the tithe. The proprietors of these tithes, if men of rank or respectability, uniformly farm them out to proctors, who having no character to lose, or humane feelings to restrain them, are not, like our clergy, by that means restricted from enforcing the payment of their dues to the uttermost farthing. The same character attaches itself to the lay impropriators of England: "with regard to lay-impropriators, says Anderson p. 106 of his agricultural essays, the complaints against them when compared with the clergy are loud from every quarter: nor do I recollect a single instance to the contrary in any of the agricultural surveys. From hence, he says, I think it fair to infer that the clergy in general do not at the present moment on an average draw from the tenants either by themselves or substitutes nearly the full amount of what they have a title to exact, and that of course after the allowance to substitutes and the expence of collecting are deducted from the payments made by the occupiers of land, the sums that are actually paid into the hands of the clergy will be greatly short of what ought to be paid by the farmers."

Arthur Young, whose knowledge of the country and accurate investigation of this subject few will call in question, states "that no White-Boys were known there till 1760, long after the landing of Thurot, or the intended expedition of Conflans: they first levelled enclosures of commons, and then attacked proctors, who either screwed the cottiers up to the utmost shilling, or re-let the tithes to such as did. The White-Boys, he adds, were labouring catholics who met with all those oppressions already described (See p. 40; p. 2. vol. 2 of his tour) and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very *severe treatment* in respect of *tithes* united with a *great speculative rise* in *rents* at the same time blown up the flame of resistance." That tithe, though a just and legal demand in itself, was a source of exaction, of tyranny and oppression is undeniable: Young whose impartiality on this point must be admitted, observes that "these tithe farmers are a bad sort of people, very civil to gentlemen, but exceedingly cruel to the poor, the great power of the *protestant* gentleman rendering his composition very light, while the poor catholic was made in too many cases to pay *severely* for the deficiencies of his betters." (1)

During the course of those disturbances, excited by the oppressions of the middleman and the exactions of the proctor, the Irish Parliament, which by its vote of agistment had been in no small degree instrumental in giving rise to them, was not idle in devising means for suppressing the insurgents: "the members of that legislature, observes Dr. Bell, which *perhaps* happily for the British Empire is now extinct, appear never to have informed themselves of the nature, to have studied the sentiments, contemplated the habits, or soothed the prejudices of a people whom they had to govern, and whose numbers and physical strength were alone sufficient to have raised them above contempt. Between the former legislators of Ireland and the mass of the common people, there existed no community of interests, no reciprocity of benefits, no kind of confidence or good will. When the former made laws that affected the latter, they generally made

(1) "The landlords in most parishes, says Swift, expect as a compliment that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tithes for the lands they hold in their own hands and it is the ministers interest to make them easy on that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants."

See his reasons against settling the tithe of hemp, &c.

made them in anger. To legislate for the dregs of the people: to render palatable the measures adopted against them: to endeavour to convince them that such measures were intended for their benefit: was a condescension, to which the Parliament of Ireland seldom stooped. It has been the policy of every wise government, of which history furnishes us with an example, to improve the condition of the mass of the people, in order that they might have an interest in the defence and preservation of the state. A principle directly the contrary always prevailed in Ireland. The poorer and more ignorant the peasants of that country were, the less danger was to be apprehended from their turbulent and rebellious disposition." (1) In the Irish Parliament acts were accordingly passed for the punishment of the White-Boys, whose atrocious deeds made them the object of general indignation, "which acts, as Young remarks, seemed, calculated for the meridian of Barbary, and this arose to such an height, that by one they were to be hanged under certain circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed the following sessions, marks the spirit of punishment; while others yet remain the law of the land, that would if executed tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which, he says, it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure from overlooking the real cause of the disease, which *in fact* lay in themselves and *not* in the wretches they doomed to the gallows." And thus as remedies no way appropriate to the evil were adopted, little other effect than an aggravation of the distemper could be expected from their operation, so that the disturbances continued almost uninterruptedly for *ten* years, but at length ceased for a time, principally, as Young remarks, "because a very considerable fall in the price of lands contributed much to abate them and lessened the evil of hiring farms over the heads of one another." (2). The disease however only lay dormant for a while,
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(1) See p. 26 of his most excellent description of the condition and manners of the peasantry of Ireland, published in 1804. It is a little pamphlet deserving of attentive perusal from the legislator who would wish to apply a balm to the heart-burnings of Ireland.

(2) One great evil, which resulted from the want of national capital in Ireland, was that land became the only material the people had to work upon: every one was forced to hire it, as his only means of employment, and the competition necessarily made the rent of land much higher than it otherwise would

as it recommenced with fresh vigour in 1784 owing to a great fall in the value of lands after the American war, which fall operated as grievously upon the occupying tenant as the former speculative rise had done. These latter disturbances were much more quickly terminated than the former, both in consequence of the greater exertions employed for their suppression, and also of an *indistinct* prospect held out to the country, that when the riots were at an end, the grievances complained of would be considered by the legislature and if any existed, a proper remedy provided for them. In this prospect however the people were never gratified, for the subject when brought under public discussion was unfortunately conducted after a manner by no means calculated to produce that harmony and oblivion of past errors, so requisite in all attempts at settling this very delicate question. The parties became still more irritated one against another: and the clergy offended at the charges aimed against them through the medium of proctors, the necessary and galling appendage of the establishment by which they are maintained, were possessed with real and well-founded fears for the reduction of their income, which had already suffered such serious diminution through the interested interference and injurious policy of an Irish Parliament (3). So lamentable were the effects of this irritation and mutual jealousy, that though all parties were free to confess that a fair commutation of tithe was a thing most desirable, yet nothing was done to prevent the revival of similar scenes, and to remove

would be. "There is no one argument, says Swift, to prove the riches of Ireland which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood and vitals and cloathes and dwellings of the tenants who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth is in us a proof of misery, there being no trade to employ any follower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearness of the necessaries of life, because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land (which they must take or go a begging) without raising the price of cattle and corn, though themselves should live upon chaff." See his "short view of Ireland."

(3) The measures at this time suggested went undoubtedly to depreciate the amount of the clergy's tithe reduced as it had been by the vote of agistment; and as before this they had been deprived of their just rights through the medium of a committee, they very naturally opposed referring the further consideration of them to a tribunal, of whose injustice they had already experienced such fatal proofs.

remove a ground of complaint, which had so long agitated the country, and which in a few years after afforded an engine most powerfully instrumental in exciting disaffection to the government and endangering the property and safety of both parties.

The rebellion of 1798 has been and still is urged as an unanswerable proof of the innate and determined disloyalty of the Catholics as a body, of their rancorous animosity against the Protestant, and of their unceasing desire to destroy the connexion with Great Britain. A charge so general and hostile should not be admitted without reasonable proof and as a clear understanding of this question may tend to allay the fears of the Protestant by exposing to view the real source of the rebellion, and the motives by which the lower orders of the Irish in the southern provinces were induced to join in that rebellion, I shall consider this subject somewhat more minutely than those which have preceded it.

The Societies of United Irishmen it is well known were first instituted in the North of Ireland about the year 1791: their *professed* object was to obtain Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. Whatever the real views of these societies had been at first, it appears that in a short space of time they were, very well disposed to imitate the example of France, to separate Ireland from Great Britain and to subvert the established constitution of the kingdom. Ulster during the progress of the French revolution had early manifested a strong republican feeling by their rejoicings at and different commemorations of that event and by the public addresses of the citizens of Belfast to the national assembly. These societies exerted the most unwearied diligence in gaining over persons of activity and talent throughout the kingdom and in preparing the public mind by their publications for the execution of their future purposes. In the summer of 1796 they solicited and were promised French assistance: most happily for those countries Providence interfered to defeat their subsequent attempt at invasion, for by returns made in April 1797, only four months after that event, it appeared that there were in Ulster 100,000 organized men, well provided with arms and ammunition, and only waiting for the arrival of foreign aid to take the field. On this occasion the peasantry of the South not only remained tranquil, but afforded the most effectual assistance in aiding the troops to oppose any landing of the enemy, and

and at the time the North was best prepared for rebellion, the South was most loyally attached to the government. The leaders of this conspiracy, desirous of strengthening their cause, (so necessary after the disarming of the North,) and apprehensive lest the enemy might be deterred from any repetition of their attempt at invasion by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught, determined to direct all their energies to the propagation of their doctrines in those provinces which had hitherto been but partially or not at all infected. And let it not be forgotten that till the summer of 1797, the united system was confined to Ulster and the Metropolis; the South, the inhabitants of which, we might say, were all of the Catholic persuasion, continued stedfastly loyal at a time that Ulster was prepared to dis sever the connexion with England, and to establish a republican form of government: at this time the North was the determined enemy of monarchy: the South its warmest supporter (1). By what magic then was the South so suddenly and so completely allured into the conspiracy? Was it by the cry of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, which in the North had been employed with such good effect to cloak the real designs of the conspirators? The evidence furnished us by the

(1) "The Catholics, say Emmett, O'Connor and M'Nevin in their memoir, were considered as entertaining an habitual spirit for monarchy, and also as being less attached than the Presbyterians to political liberty." The knowledge of this difference of character, it is well ascertained, was the reason, why the North had originally determined if possible to effect a revolution independant of the South. Necessity alone compelled them to change that determination. And yet this rebellion has notwithstanding been deemed a *Catholic* rebellion, because the *South*, inhabited by a Catholic peasantry, full of ignorance and prejudice, stimulated in part by false representations and by a recollection of past grievances, was the first to fly into a state of insurrection: if it is to receive a religious name, it should with more truth be denominated a *Presbyterian* conspiracy, because matured in the *North* long before it had any existence in the *South*, and because propagated by emissaries from the former among the simple and credulous inhabitants of the latter, who had not the prudent forbearance of their instructors to wait till a foreign force had arrived to their assistance.—The North, which on this occasion had been so active in endeavouring to effect a revolution and whose people were not stimulated to this conspiracy by any *immediate* or *personal* grievances, have since seen the full extent of their error: the termination of the French revolution in a military despotism has most effectually contributed to open their eyes to a view of sober liberty: they would now as decidedly oppose, as they had formerly encouraged, an invasion from that quarter.

the reports of the committees of secrecy shall solve this important question.—“ In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties the more eagerly in their cause, says the report of the House of Commons, the United Irishmen found it *expedient* in urging their general principles to dwell with *peculiar* energy on the *supposed oppressiveness* of tithes, (which had been the pretext for the old White-Boy insurrections): and with a view to excite the resentment of the Catholic and to turn that resentment to the purposes of the party, *fabricated* and *false* tests were represented as having been taken to exterminate Catholics and were industriously disseminated by the emissaries of treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated among the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and absurd, was one among the many wicked means, by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more readily in the treason ”—And says the report of the secret committee of the House of Lords, “ it appeared distinctly to your committee that the stale pretexts of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were found *ineffectual* for the seduction of the people of those provinces, and therefore the emissaries of treason, who had undertaken it, in order to prevail with them to adopt the system of organization, first represented that it was necessary in their own defence, as their Protestant fellow-subjects had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, having sworn to wade up to their knees in popish blood. The people were next taught to believe that their organization would lead to the *abolition of tithes* and to a distribution of property. Under the influence of these false, wicked and artful suggestions, the organization was gradually extended through the other three provinces: and the measures thus adopted completely succeeded in detaching the minds of the lower classes from their usual habits and pursuits, insomuch that in the course of the autumn and winter of 1797, the peasantry of the midland and southern counties were sworn and ripe for insurrection.”—From these authentic documents two things may be learned: that rebellion in the South was engendered by tithe, that prolific parent of discord: and that the fear of orange persecutions, so artfully employed to terrify its simple and credulous inhabitants, was the bugbear by which it was brought to maturity. The leaders of the rebellion most distinctly confess

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the former, though it must be obvious they would prefer accounting for the confederacy in the South, if consistent with truth, in a manner similar to the North, and attributing it, if possible, to feelings similar to those which swayed the people of that province. But it was too well known that neither Catholic Emancipation nor Parliamentary Reform would have satisfied the the North, and it was as well known to them, that a commutation of the tithe system, which before this had, with short intervals of tranquillity, kept the country in hot water for near 30 years, was *alone* necessary to quiet the South (1). That the tithe system was every thing in the hands of the conspirators is obvious from their own examinations: the candour and fairness of their replies has I believe never been called in question. Emmett being asked what grievances his reformed legislature would remove, replied, "in the first place it would cause a *complete abolition* of tithes (2), &c. &c. And yet though the total destruction of the church establishment was undoubtedly determined on by the leaders of Union, still was the substitution of some other maintenance, and not the *abolition* of tithes without a substitute, in the contemplation of many others: for Emmett on being asked, if his intention was not to overturn the Church, replied, "Pardon me, my lord; my intention never was to destroy the Church: my

(1) Quere by my Lord Chancellor?—Pray, Mr. Emmett, do you think Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform any objects with the common people? Answer—As to Catholic Emancipation I dont think it matters a *feather*, or that the poor think of it. As to Parliamentary Reform I dont think the common people ever thought of it, until it was inculcated to them, that a Reform would cause a removal of those grievances which they actually do feel: from that time, I believe, they have been very much attached to the measure.

(2) On being asked whether such an abolition would not be more beneficial to landlords than tenants, he replied, that "it abolished without a reform there are landlords, who would raise the rent, when they were making new leases, the full value of the tithes and if they could, more; but that a reformed legislature would very badly know or very badly perform its duty, if it did not establish such a system of landed leases, as would prevent landlords, from so doing." Supposing however that such a system of leases could not be framed as would prevent the landlord raising his rent even more than the full value of the tithe, still would the tenant be greatly benefited by the change, for the uncertainty of the tax the great source of his oppression and the whole brood of blood-sucking landlords would thereby be removed. But in Ireland the rents are already so high upon the *peasantry*, that upon no conceivable change in the tithe system could they possibly be raised higher.

my wish decidedly was to overturn the establishment" (1): and on this subject he again observed, "I have myself no doubt of its being injurious, and I look to its destruction, but I cannot undertake to say, how far the whole of that measure is contemplated by the body of the people, for I have frequently heard an acreable tax proposed as a substitute, which necessarily supposes the preservation of the establishment."—Do you think, asks Mr. Forster, the Catholics *peculiarly* object to tithes? Answer by Emmett: "They certainly have the best reason to complain, but I rather think they object as *tenants* more than as *Catholics*, and in common with the rest of the tenantry of the kingdom (2): and if any other way of paying *even* a Protestant establishment, which did not bear so *sensibly* on their *industry*, were to take place, I believe *it would go a great way to content them*." This opinion is strongly confirmed by M'Nevin, when to a question, "whether Mr. Grattan's motion about tithes was not a short cut towards putting down the established Church;" he replied, "that if the stability of the established Church depends on the payment of tithes, the Church stands on a weaker foundation than in civility, I would have said of it, but of this *I am sure*, that if tithes had been commuted according to Mr. Grattan's plan, *a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands*."

From these combined statements thus mutually corroborative, it may fairly be inferred that it was neither a spirit of republican fanaticism, nor of innate disloyalty: that it was neither any *direct* desire of separating from England, nor of recovering forfeited

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(1) Arthur O'Connor, being asked whether he would not have destroyed the Protestant religion and the Protestant establishment, replied that, "the destruction of religion was one thing, the destruction of establishments another: we are of opinion that the present monstrous Protestant establishment is a grievous burden on Presbyterians, Catholics, Quakers, Protestants, in short on all the people of Ireland: highly unjust to those who are not of the Protestant religion, and highly *injurious* to the Protestant religion itself."

(2) Being asked by Lord Castlereagh whether he thought the Catholics would wish to set up a Catholic establishment in lieu of the Protestant one, he replied, "Indeed I do not, even at the present day: perhaps some old priests, who have long groaned under the penal laws, might wish for a retribution to themselves, but I don't think the young Priests would wish for it, and I am convinced, the laity would not submit to it, and that the objections to it will be every day gaining strength."

feited estates, nor of overturning the Church establishment, but the desire of being relieved from the exactions of the tithe-proctor and of guarding against supposed danger, which induced the Catholic of the South to join in that rebellion.

Since the termination of this Rebellion the country has been in a state of *almost* uninterrupted tranquillity and free from any disturbance of a similar nature, except in the late instance of the THRESHERS, whose principles and conduct precisely resembled those of the White-boys. They differed from the latter however in this that tithe or rather its *mode* of collection formed their *sole* ground of complaint: it was exaction on the part of our Proctors and their own clergy they attacked and not the support of an Establishment (1). The existence of such a disturbance is sufficient to shew that tithe alone from the harassing exactions it unavoidably gives rise to, has been and so long as it exists ever will be the cause of considerable dissatisfaction among the lower orders (2). It must not however be passed by without remark that a great portion of the troubles, which have agitated this country, are to be attributed to the impolitic conduct of landlords to their tenantry: to their absence from their estates, to their admission of middlemen, to their mode of disposing of lands to the highest bidder without any respect or preference given to the occupying tenant, by which whole families are driven from their homes to beggary and ruin. But evils a thousand times worse than beggary have grown out of these cruel practices: the moral character of the People has been changed

(1) Oaths were administered by them to bind the parties to the refusal of the payment of tithes to any but *resident* Clergy: to regulate the dues payable to their own priests: to which sometimes has been added a clause not to obey the act of Union and also a sweeping one to obey the orders of Captain Thresher.

(2) Sir Charles Coote, in his Survey of the King's County, observes that the Peasants are particularly preyed upon by a brood of Proctors, each of whom have their profit: they seem one and all discontented not so much with the institution as the severe mode of collecting the tax: and in cases where Lease is executed to Proctor and alienation does not proceed further, grounds of complaint seldom exist. He gives one among many instances, where in the Parish of Clonbrock now united to Geshill, a large district is under the collection of one person the Rev. Mr. Harpur, a dissenting Clergyman and as a proof of his humanity and forbearance he remained at home safe, tho' unprotected, in the midst of a disaffected Country during the whole of the Rebellion, and had the tithes regularly paid him, which would always be the case were there no exaction. Sir Charles is of opinion that it would be very difficult to mislead the lower orders, if there was a reasonable modification of tithe.

changed and shockingly perverted: the most deadly animosity is too often engendered in their minds and seeks every opportunity of venting itself in acts of secret revenge or open outrage. The Counties of Limerick and Tipperary have of late exhibited scenes the most atrocious arising from a combination of these causes, unchecked by any corresponding activity on the part of their magistracy. How long such scenes shall continue to be acted in this island must lie with its magistrates and its landlords: between the latter and their tenantry the Government cannot further interfere, than by the grant of military aid: this may for a time palliate but cannot cure the disease: "therein the patient must minister to himself." But between the Laity and the Clergy the Legislature can interfere to the great and decisive advantage of both parties, as by such interference the *tranquillity* of the country, *so far* as that has been endangered by the present obnoxious mode of maintaining the established Church, *would be secured, its Agriculture and Population extensively promoted.*

Having now taken a view of Tithe as it has affected the Peace and tranquillity of Ireland, I shall next proceed to consider how far her prosperity has been affected by the same system thro' the medium of her Agriculture and Population; for the better understanding of which I shall premise a short historic sketch of each.

CHAPTER II.

An Historic View of the State of Agriculture and Population in Ireland : Influence of Tithe on both.

SECTION I.

Historic View of Irish Agriculture.

THE agricultural history of Ireland cannot well be understood without reverting to *times*, of which we possess few historic records, and to *customs*, of which we cannot now perceive the direct operation. Property in ancient days, and for a long time after the invasion of the country by the English, was held by a tenure different from most of the nations of Europe: for from the nature of the connection between the chieftain and his sept, the lands were equally partitioned among the latter, and upon the death of any individual member of the clan reverted back to the chieftain for a fresh partition: upon these portions of land each family depended for support, and of consequence every Irishman must have been more or less a farmer. Such a regulation, however imperfect or defective from want of a permanent tenure in each family, seems in times of quietness well calculated for the general improvement of agriculture, as it undoubtedly was for the promotion of population. In this respect the Brehon law closely resembled the Jewish institution, which among that people was attended with such a prodigious increase of population and such a flourishing state of agriculture.—That
Ireland

Ireland antecedent to the invasion of the Danes (for then her troubles began) did enjoy the fruits of such a regulation of property, and that the Island was in a state of civilization, of culture and prosperity, far exceeding that which was her lot subsequent to that event, must *at the least* appear probable from the testimony of respectable writers, and from the concurring coincidence of facts, unquestionable even at the present day.

The venerable Bede, who lived 1100 years ago, calls Ireland, "Insula dives lactis ac mellis," and in his life of S. Columbus Cap. 1. mentions a circumstance, which well accounts for it, "Insulæ hujus situs est amenus, ac adversantium exterarum carens bello nationum." Cambrensis himself admits that in his time (A. D. 1180) "Frugibus arva, pecore montes, nemerosa feris abundant." There is an old Irish saying, that Ireland was *thrice* under the ploughshare, *thrice* it was wood, and *thrice* it was bare. Such a saying would scarcely be handed down or so generally accredited without some foundation. It marks very faithfully the successive devastations, to which the island was subjected from foreign invasion. The accounts we have received of it in ancient times from writers foreign and domestic, our own knowledge of its condition subsequent to the invasion, and appearances yet observable on the face of the country, strongly countenance the assertion. A. Young V. 1 p. 359 speaking of the county of Mayo, one of the wildest parts of Ireland in the memory of man, observes how "remarkable it is that all the wild mountains in this country have marks and to a great height, of former culture, mounds of fences and ridges of the plough (1) Lord Altamont's great grandfather, he says, found the estate a continued forest in 1650, when these woods were of much more than a century's growth, so that no cultivation could have been here probably for 300 years, and at that moment there was no wood on any of the hills except immediately about Westport." In the latter end of the 17th century, Mr. Samuel Molyneux who was no friend to the claims of former civilization in Ireland, in a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, says "Ireland has certainly been better inhabited formerly than at present, mountains that are now covered wth bog have been formerly ploughed, for

(1) This to the present day is observable on many hills in the county of Kilkenny, and other counties, on spots which a modern farmer would now never think of turning to tillage.

for when you dig five or six feet deep you discover a proper soil for vegetation, and find it ploughed in ridges and furrows — this is observable in the wild mountains of Armack and Dundalk, and likewise in the mountains of Altimore, the same as I have been informed have been observed in the county of Londonderry and Donegal: a plough was found in a very deep bog in the latter, and a hedge with wattles standing under a bog that was five or six feet deep.—I have seen the stump of a large tree in a bog at Castle Forbes, the trunk had been burnt and some of the ashes still lay on it, and in truth there are few places but either at present or when the bog is removed exhibit marks of the plough, which surely must prove the country to have been well inhabited formerly.” (1) O’Halloran remarks that in the most unsultivated parts of the county Cork you find vestiges of high roads cut through mountains and the remains of many enclosures. The former civilization of Ireland is also demonstrable from the evident traces of mines worked in ages past, and which in good sense cannot be attributed to others than the natives. Thus the coal mines of Ballycastle in the county of Antrim, and the rich copper mines of Ross Island, Killarney, furnish the most irrefragable proofs of the fact, together with the number of old churches and other ruins dispersed over the face of the country.

But without further discussion of this, which by some is deemed the fabulous part of Irish History, and descending to later times, we

(1) Then let not the bogs and the woods of Ireland (the latter now alas no more) be objected to her as arguments against the assertion of her former cultivation: the state of Italy after the irruption of the barbarous nations furnishes the most decisive analogy. “Whenever any country, says Robertson in his history of Charles the V. is thinly inhabited, trees and shrubs spring up in the uncultivated fields and spreading by degrees form large forests: by the overflowing of rivers and the stagnating of waters, other parts of it are converted into lakes and marshes. Ancient Italy, the seat of Roman elegance and luxury, was cultivated to the highest pitch. But so effectually did the devastations of the barbarians destroy all the effects of their industry and cultivation, that in the eighth century Italy appears to have been covered with forests and marshes of vast extent. Muratori runs into a long detail concerning the situation and limits of these, and proves by the most authentic evidence, that great tracts of territory, in all the different provinces of Italy, were either over-run with wood, or laid under water. Nor did these occupy parts of the country naturally barren or of little value, but were spread over districts, which ancient writers represent as extremely fertile, and which at present are highly cultivated.”—Vol. 1, p. 208.

we for too many centuries meet but few traces of agriculture to relieve the eye. Cultivation, if it had ever enriched the island vanished with its tranquillity, upon the repeated irruptions of the Danes, and the subsequent invasion of the island by the English adventurers (1). From this invasion in the middle of the 12th till the treaty and surrender of Limerick at the close of the 17th century, the country enjoyed so little quietness, whether from the wars of the native Princes with the English, or their unceasing feuds with one another, and above all, the inhabitants could trust so little in the security of their possessions, that it must have been truly singular had agriculture flourished or population increased. The History of the intermediate space of time furnishes but too many proofs that the one was scarcely attended to and that the other had most miserably suffered: war and famine desolated the land and the transportation of her people often completed what either had spared. In pasturage and the breed of large cattle consisted the whole employment and trade of the nation: these as the most secure species of property they cultivated in preference to tillage, because more easily transportable from place to place, and more readily protected from the incursions of the plunderer. The conduct of the landlords to their tenantry must also have had its influence: "there is one general inconvenience, says Spencer, reigning thro' all Ireland, that the Lords of land do not there use to set out their land in farms or for term of years to
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(1) The misfortunes of this country are fairly deducible from the one circumstance that it was not at once reduced under English dominion. The Island is said to have been conquered by Henry the second: it can scarcely be said to have been invaded by him, but by some needy and adventurous Barons countenanced by his authority. These settled in it, and generally speaking made themselves independant of England: they became Irish Kings, and as Spencer, in his state of Ireland observes had grown mere Irish, "yea and more malicious to the English than the Irish themselves" "If the conquest of Ireland says Lord Clare in his very candid and impartial review of Irish history, was the object of the English King, his embarrassments on the Continent seem to have disabled him from effecting it, the first English settlements being merely colonial, such as have since been made by the different nations of Europe on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America. These for several successive reigns were left to themselves, having received no other reinforcement than the occasional arrival of new British *adventurers*." Vide speech, 1800. Had the the country been at once completely subjugated, had English laws been then introduced and the affections of the people gained by kind treatment, we should not at this day have known the fatal distinction between English and Irish, between Protestant and Catholic.

their tenants, but only from year to year and some during pleasure: neither indeed will the Irish husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself. Landlords, he adds, there use most shamefully to rack their tenants, laying upon them coyne and livery, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth"—and "to say the truth, as he observes on another occasion, tho' Ireland be by nature counted a great soil of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cows kept and men better mannered, than to have such huge encrease of cattle and no encrease of good conditions. I would therefore wish that there were some ordinances made among them that whosoever keepeth twenty kine, should keep a plough agoing; for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage and none to husbandry, which is a cause of this great dearth now in England, and a cause of the usual stealths in Ireland (1). For look into all who live in such sort by keeping of cattle and you will find that they are both barbarous and uncivil and also greatly given to war. Therefore since we *now* purpose to draw the Irish from desire of war and tumults to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great custom of hardening and augment their trade of tillage and husbandry."—Their cattle they were in the habit of exporting in great numbers into England and from these derived the whole or greater part of their wealth. This trade the narrow-sighted and unwise policy of the English Parliament did not long permit: for having experienced about the year 1664 under Charles the 2d. a partial deficiency in their rents arising from causes totally independent of Ireland, (2) they

(1) From this suggestion it is not improbable that Primate Boulter framed his tillage bill, of which we shall speak by and by: The futility of the Primate's well-meaning penalties, is now the greater contrast to the powerful influence of judicious bounties.

(2) These causes were obviously the following viz: persecution and consequent emigration of many industrious puritans, the interruption of trade with Spain, a ruinous commerce with France, by which there was a balance of trade against England of one million annually: the war with Holland, the plague, and the dissipation of the court. Besides these obvious reasons the annual value of cattle imported was short of the decrease of the rents, and had far exceeded that amount before the troubles of England commenced. Lord Ossory, the admired son of the Duke of Ormond distinguished himself by his warm opposition to this measure: and the exertions of his father alone prevented the nation from sinking it to a state of perfect despondency. The Duke established the linen trade, encouraged its woollen manufacture, and in other respects laboured most effectually to promote the happiness of the nation.

they blindly charged the trade of that country as the cause, and passed an act in the height of inconsiderate folly and in opposition to the good sense of that Monarch and his Ministers, declaring the importation of Irish great cattle and sheep a *nuisance*. The temporary ruin of the nation was the unavoidable consequence of this act: every thing was at a stand, the value of their only commodity was immensely depreciated, no rents could be paid or revenue raised and yet neither insurrection or riot was heard of. Sir William Temple who wrote in 1673 on the trade of Ireland, observes that "in many parts oxen were so cheap, that the hide and tallow, sold at the next trading town, would bring as much as the oxen cost. Before the transportation of cattle into England, he adds, was declared a nuisance the quickest trade of ready money was driven by the sale of young bullocks, and this made all the traders in the kingdom turn their lands and stocks chiefly to that sort of cattle. This act against the transportation of their cattle led them to turn their land to sheep for the wool, which found a market in England, and also to the dairy for butter." Thus we see the passing of this act did not, as might be expected, turn their attention to tillage, for that was less understood among them, was less secure and required a capital and a population greater than the country afforded. In point of agriculture Ireland laboured under great difficulties: the habits of the people were disposed to pasturage and necessity made them adhere to it, the country being without fences and standing in need both of capital and people, while the policy of England at that time led her to discourage and lessen that population, the encrease of which must ultimately have compelled them to till their grounds.

"Ireland, says Mr. Pitt, had for a long Series of time felt the narrow policy of Britain, who influenced by views of trade and Commercial advantages and tainted and perverted with selfish motives had treated her with partiality and neglect, and never looked upon her growth and prosperity as the growth and prosperity of the Empire at large." Thus truly does Mr. Pitt, characterize that system of restraint, as impolitic as it was oppressive, by which England had hitherto debarred Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources. This system was never so well illustrated in all its bearings, as by the jealous and short sighted Conduct of England towards our Woollen manufacture, the establishment of which was in

the first instance owing to her own illiberality in the late Act of Prohibition. The manufacture was sacrificed to the narrow and selfish views of the Sister Country and the Enemy of both derived the whole advantage(1).

There is no one thing can give us a fairer picture of the low and degraded state of agriculture during the whole of this period than a bill brought in about the year 1727 under the patronage of Archbishop Boulter, who with the strongest zeal for England did not overlook the interest of Ireland; this bill went to compel every holder of 100 acres to till *five at least* out of that number under a penalty of 40 shillings. On this occasion his grace very fully explains the deplorable state of Ireland with respect to her agriculture—"Our present tillage," says he, "falls very short of answering the demands of this nation, which occasions our importing corn from England and other places; and whilst our poor have bread to eat, we do not complain of this; but by tilling so little, if our crop fails, or yields indifferently, our poor have not money to buy bread. This was the case in 1725, and last year, and without a prodigious crop, will be more so this year. Now the occasion of this evil is that many persons have hired large tracts of land, on to 3 or 4000 acres, and have stocked them with cattle, and have no other inhabitants on their land than so many cottiers as are necessary to look after their sheep and black cattle; so that in some of the finest counties in many places there is neither house nor corn field to be seen in ten or fifteen miles travelling: and daily in some counties many gentlemen (as their leases fall into their hands) tie up their tenants from tillage:(2) and this is one of the main causes why so many venture to go into foreign service at the hazard of their lives if taken, because they can get no land to till at home. And if some stop be not put to this

(1) Let them reflect, says Mr Foster, that England raised the woollen manufacture here by prohibiting the importation of Irish provisions and she established the woollen manufactory afterwards in France, by destroying the child of her own creation in Ireland." vide speech in 1799.

(2) The cause of these pesal clauses by the landlords against ploughing is said to have arisen from the practice pursued by the Irish farmers of exhausting their grounds by repeated crops without manuring or fallowing, and when the leases were near expired they ploughed even the meadows and made such havoc that the landlords by their zeal to prevent it, were betrayed into this pernicious measure: let it be observed however that the farmers were led into this destructive practice because the landlords in reletting their lands gave no preference to the occupying tenant.

this evil we must daily decrease in the numbers of our people.— But we hope if this tillage bill takes place to keep our youth at home, to employ our poor and not be in danger of a famine upon any little miscarriage in our harvest.”—See his Letters, p. 178.— It is in the memory of many how truly drawn the foregoing picture is (1): and yet, in a few years after, the Vote of Assignment passed in the Commons, *a vote* which in its operation held forth every inducement to the farmer to persevere in his old habits, and by affording a negative premium on pasturing tended to throw further obstacles in the way of tillage.(1)

Besides these multiplied causes for the very backward state of Agriculture there was one great aggravating circumstance the mention of which has hitherto been omitted, tho' its operation which commenced in Queen Anne's Reign, continued with unabated force till after the accession of his present Majesty to the throne; I here allude to the penal laws, so oppressive to the Catholic, so derogatory to the Legislature and so injurious
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(1) How little after all was effected by his tillage bill may be judged of by the following description given by Campbell about 1775 in his philosophical survey of the South of Ireland, in which speaking of his journey from Kilkenny towards Munster he says, “ For 10 or 12 miles on this side Kilkenny, the soil was far from rich: it was rather indeed poor: yet it was pretty well cultivated: the fields were enclosed with hedges and ditches and the country embellished with houses and plantations: but as ground improves on approaching the borders of Munster, agriculture ceases and not a house, not a hedge, not a ditch is to be seen. The country is abdicated by the human species and peopled with sheep ” And again he says “ You may ride for miles in the most fertile part of the country without seeing an acre of ploughed ground except where potatoes had been a year or two before. There is, he adds, a statute unrepealed enjoining the cultivation of not less than five in the one hundred acres under the penalty of forty shillings—but this act is as dead as the letters of it, for all the rich are delinquents and none but the impotent poor are left to enforce it.”

(2) This vote of assignment by which the clergy were stripped of their just and legal demands injured the country in three different ways, 1st by compelling the clergy to enforce a strict payment of other tithes, and for that purpose to resort more generally to proctors, it contributed to disturb the tranquillity of the country on various occasions: 2nd by affording a negative premium on pasture it threw further obstacles in the way of agriculture: and 3rd by occasioning the union of several parishes, it added to the evil of non-resident or inefficient clergy, and the consequent decay of religion and morals. “ In many cases, says Primate Boulter, there are whole parishes, where without this tithe there is no provision for the minister: and it is certain, he adds, that by running into cattle the number
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to the country (1). The Professor of that Religion could neither buy land nor take a mortgage, nor even fine down the rent of a lease. These laws had no other tendency than that of driving out of the Kingdom all the personal wealth of the Catholics by confining the sphere of their industry to commerce (2). Now when three fourths of the Farmers of Ireland were Catholics and their exertions thus checked, how was it possible that agriculture should flourish, even tho' not weighed down by other heavy and serious impediments. The Agriculture of this Country never raised its head until these laws were gradually repealed and untill means the most judicious were devised for counteracting the pernicious influence of the vote of agistment. It has been already remarked how strongly disposed the people of Ireland had always been to pasturage, to which in some degree the nature of the climate might have led them, tho' in my mind this tendency was more owing to unquiet times, to a warlike disposition and to a want of capital. Whatever may have been the source of this preference, which in 1727 to prevent starvation required a bill to compel them to till 5 out of each 100 acres, it received a most decided preponderance from the vote of agistment, which exempted pasturage and loaded tillage with one of the most oppressive taxes ever imposed upon land. Where the habits of the people were so strongly in favour of pasturage and a negative premium thus operating in its favour, nothing but the most decided and *forced* encouragement could have placed tillage on an equal footing or saved it from total disuse; thro' the persevering exertions of a gentleman, who has ever well

of people are decreasing, and most of their youth out of business and disposed to list in foreign service for bread, there being no employment for them at home, and by this means a great part of our churches are neglected, in many places five, six or seven parishes being bestowed on one incumbent, who, perhaps, with all his tithes scarce gets an hundred a year.—p. 183, v. 2nd.

(1) "It was impossible, observed my Lord Clare, that any country could continue to exist under a code of laws by which a majority of its inhabitants were cut off from the rights of property: it was a code highly injurious to the landed interest of Ireland, and inevitably diminishing the value of every man's estate who voted for it."

(2) As by the penal laws much personal wealth was driven out of the country in the persons of the Catholics, so did the Protestant absentees uninterruptedly draw away a great portion of the real and substantial wealth of the Island: and it unfortunately happened that while the former evil decreased, the latter received and is daily receiving aggravation.

well understood and steadily supported the real interests of Ireland, this and more than this was effected, by the grant of bounties on the inland carriage of corn from all parts of the kingdom to the capital. In consequence of this many of the most extensive mills for grinding corn, that are to be found in the world, were erected, and tillage gradually extended itself over the face of the country. This no doubt was done at a very considerable expence to the nation and with some *immediate* loss in the exports of wool, beef, butter, &c. But no sacrifice could be too great for a change so important. The encroachment of tillage was at first on some of the good pasture grounds, because there was no capital in the country sufficient for reclaiming bogs and mountains: but when tillage made capital, it also made new ground for itself and again restored the rich lands to pasture, so that at this moment, tho' tillage has within the last 25 years encreased sixfold and the price of land in many instances more than quadrupled, yet pasturage has also encreased with it, nor have they clashed, but gained conjointly on the waste and unprofitable grounds, making thereby a great addition to the productive soil of the island. For this flourishing condition of its agriculture as well as of its linnens (the two *staples* of the country,) the former of which has enabled the kingdom not only to maintain its own encreased population but to export considerable quantities to foreign markets, it is indebted to that uniform and steady friend of his country Mr. Foster. It is now no longer dependant on bounties for its support, as the people having once tasted of its sweets will not readily be drawn from it again to revert to old and pernicious habits, however countenanced by the laws of the realm(1).

(1) Arthur Young, who on other occasions seems to have understood the history and interests of Ireland so well, on this subject appears to have been ignorant of both, and his reasoning would almost lead me to say *wilfully* so. For he would insinuate in the first place that Ireland was *far* better fitted for pasture than for tillage, though with no better reason than another would prove her better calculated for the *linnen* than the *woollen* manufacture. "I do not make these observations, he says, in order to conclude that tillage will not do in Ireland. I know it may be *made* to do, but I would leave the vibration from corn to pasturage and from pasturage to corn, to the cultivators of the land to guide themselves as prices and other circumstances direct, but by no means *force* an extended tillage at the expense of bounties." This observation might be just had corn and pasturage been antecedently on an equal footing, which
notoriously

SECTION II.

Historic view of the Population of Ireland.

Having taken this cursory survey of our agricultural history, it may not be amiss, from the close connexion existing between both to look a little into the history of its population also. From the invasion of the Danes between the eighth and ninth centuries 'till within the last 30 years, population has never had fair play in Ireland and at all times, even antecedent to the former event, owing to the partition of the island among petty Kings, whose opposing interests or quarrelsome dispositions led them to perpetual warfare, it must have happened, that population suffered both directly and indirectly: but on these occasions the indirect loss arising from insecurity of persons and property, the prospect of frequent and sudden incursions &c. did probably far exceed that sustained directly in the field of battle, as it is well ascertained that the greatest direct loss of men will readily be supplied where other circumstances are favourable to an encrease of people. The subsequent invasion of the country by English adventurers only aggravated the evils arising from these perpetual feuds, which, had England been able to effect a complete subjugation of the island, might thereby have been effectually remedied. The English
Barons

notoriously they were not. But he further objects to these bounties on the ground of the change they effected "Ought you to turn, he asks, some of the finest pastures in the world and which in Ireland yield twenty shillings an acre into the most execrable tillage that is to be found on the face of the globe? In the last seven years, he adds, the bounty has just trebled: if it goes on so, it will be £ 180,000 a year in seven years more and by that time there will be *neither sheep nor cows left in the kingdom!* this prediction is sufficient to demonstrate the folly of the data upon which it is founded. It was worth any immediate sacrifice *however great*, to induce the people to vibrate from pasturage to corn, though it were from the *best* of grass to the *worst* of tillage. At first the tillage must have been necessarily bad, but as capital accumulated and experience encreased it must as necessarily have improved. Had Young published his tour a few years later, or had he at first sufficiently understood the necessity of some such measures, arising from the vote of agistment, he had not fallen into so great an error.

Barons assuming the privileges of Irish Princes, as such carried on their wars, not only against their Irish neighbours, but too often against each other and against the inhabitants of the English pale. The invasion of an enemy had not the effect of uniting the Irish among themselves, so that the evils of internal warfare and all its consequences were daily aggravated. Under such circumstances it was impossible that population should advance: it suffered most seriously, nor from the erroneous policy adopted towards the Irish, were they to be kept in subjection or prevented from constant attacks upon the English settlements 'till by the devastations of war and famine combined, they were, towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, after a most miserable diminution of their numbers, unable to make any further resistance (1). After the death of that Princess, whose management of Ireland will little redound to her political wisdom, a system of government was adopted by James, which if embraced earlier might have subdued the country without destroying its population and would at the same time have subdued the hearts of the natives, and thereby made the conquest truly secure. James extended the benefit of the English law to the Irish, a boon they had often previously begged for, but which had been uniformly refused them through the interest of the Anglo-Irish Barons, whose influence and power would thereby have been effectually destroyed. Sir J. Davys bears ample testimony of the effects of this concession on the Irish and from thence we may judge what its probable operation must have been, had it been earlier granted to them. Dark clouds however soon obscured the prospect of that happiness which had dawned upon the country, and the revolution that followed in the succeeding reign quickly swept away the greater part of that population, which had accumulated in the time of

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peace.

(1) "This, says Spencer in his state of Ireland, I saw sufficiently exemplified in the late wars of Munster, for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle that you would have thought they (the Irish) would have been able to stand long, yet ere one half year they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same." He then gives a sad description of it indeed, and concludes with the following observation. "In a short time there were none almost left and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast, yet sure in a'l that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremeties of famine, which they themselves had wrought"—p. 430 8 vol. of Todd's ed.

peace. Sir William Petty calculates that in the rebellion between the 23d of October 1641 and 1652 there perished 616,000 English and Irish by the sword, plague, famine, hardship, and banishment; he further states that between 1651 and 1654, 34,000 men transported themselves into foreign service in which they acted subservient to Charles the 2d's wishes or political interest and by their means alone was he enabled to command respect abroad, and support the appearances of royalty. — So great was the loss to Ireland at this time in men, cattle, stock, and houses that Sir William estimates the entire at £37,255,000 — Sir William Temple who wrote on the trade of Ireland in 1673 observes that “the true and natural ground of trade and riches being the number of people in proportion to the compass of ground they inhabit, the want of trade in Ireland proceeds from the want of people and this from the wars and rebellions under the preceding reigns, and the frequent settlements. So that, had it not been for the numbers of British which the necessity of the late wars at first drew over, and of such, who either as adventurers or soldiers, seated themselves here on account of the satisfaction made to them in land, the country had by the last war and plague been left in a manner desolate.” — How immense must have been the depopulation: How desolate the whole face of the country, to have brought such observations from these writers. — The entire population at this period (1672) Sir William Petty states to have been 1,100,000 — after this followed an interval of some rest, during which population, though little favoured by other circumstances, appears to have made considerable advances, when the madness and folly of James the 2d again gave it a serious check. “Forty years, says Swift, are now passed since the revolution, when the contention of the British empire was *most unfortunately* for us, and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom desert, which in some sort it still continues. Neither did the long rebellion in 1641 make *half* such a destruction of houses, plantations and personal wealth in both kingdoms, as two years campaign did in ours by fighting England's battles.”

During the whole of this period we have seen that agriculture had made little or no progress: Potatoes alone were uninterruptedly propagated through Ireland: there was no impediment

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to their cultivation and the abundance of this food at such a time was probably the cause why under these adverse circumstances its population did at all encrease (1). The revolution in 1688 did not so much injure the population of Ireland by any direct loss sustained in accomplishing it, as by the immense emigrations it gave rise to: Thousands went into foreign service, and the Abbe M'Geoghegan states that between 1691 and 1745 there perished in the service of France 450,000 Irishmen. This statement is probably exaggerated: it however receives considerable weight from the testimony of Primate Boulter, as these emigrations were not only permitted but secretly encouraged by the British government, French officers being under-hand allowed to recruit in Ireland, nor was this permission withdrawn till the battle of Fountenoy fully proved the value of the Irish soldier (2). Newenham calculates that 200,000 at least emigrated in 50 years of the last century, besides those who went to England, America, West Indies, &c. and in the years 1771—2, 3, the average annual emigration from the North was 9533, and

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these

(1) As the state of population, says Archdeacon Paley, is governed and limited by the quantity of provisions, perhaps there is no single cause that affects it so powerfully as the kind and quality of food which chance or usage has introduced in a country."—"Is it or is it not then, says Young, a matter of consequence for the great body of the people of a country to subsist upon that species of food which is produced in the greatest quantity by the smallest space of land? One need only to state to answer the question; the potatoe is that species of food which chance introduced into Ireland and usage has established in it and it is very fairly calculated that the average quantity of land requisite to support an individual, who subsists on animal food and uses bread merely as a supplementary article, will maintain five people who subsists on bread or twelve who subsist on potatoes"—Vide Newenham, p. 33 and Young v. 2 p. 2 p. 34. "In Ireland, says Archdeacon Paley, a simplicity of living *alone* maintains a considerable degree of population, under great defects of police, of industry and commerce."

(2) Notwithstanding the want of this permission it is notorious that the Irish brigade was regularly recruited in Ireland, till the period of the French Revolution, when their natural attachment to monarchy induced them to quit that service; this recruiting it is well known was carried on through the influence of those Catholic priests, who from *foreign* education acquired and preserved *foreign* connexions.

these continue uninterruptedly to the present day (1). During the early part of the last century the Irish were excluded from the English military and naval service, and it was even with the greatest caution that the Irish Protestant was admitted; hence as there was not sufficient employment for them at home, they were necessarily compelled to look abroad for that which their own country could not afford them. Still however there was such an attachment between an Irishman and his native soil (2) that these voluntary emigrations were principally confined to the Presbyterians of the North since the commencement of the last century. The restrictions against popery established under Queen Anne and two following reigns went most effectually to prevent the acquisition or accumulation of wealth among its professors, yet as they could not deprive them of that abundance of food furnished by the potatoe, they did not altogether hinder the encrease of population, which advanced slowly to the year 1779 about which time the Catholics were allowed to take long leases, and the tillage of the country was encouraged by most judicious and beneficial bounties on inland carriage. Since that period agriculture and population have advanced hand in hand together and have mutually co-operated the one to the promotion of the other, as the latter compels to industry, and the former furnishes the most irresistible temptation to the encrease of population, in the prospect of employment for every hand that can be brought into action; so at present they require but the removal of a few other impediments to secure the highest perfection in the one and the greatest magnitude in the other — The population of Ireland in 1695 was 1,034,102—in 1788 under all the disadvantages of that interval it had nearly quadrupled being then 3,900,000—in 1804 it was 5,395,456 and is now at least $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, though

(1) Councillor Janson in his late account of America, states the emigration from the British dominions and more especially from *Ireland* to the United States to be almost incredible. "I took, he says, some pains to gain correct information on this subject, and was astonished at the number which of late years have crowded the American ships from different parts of Europe.—In 1801, 14,000 souls were landed from Ireland, by the Philadelphia ships alone, and upon the moderate calculation of the like number arriving in all the other ports taken together, we find the emigration to be 28,000." The loss to Ireland he calculates, independent of the men, at near £600,000 a year

(2) They seem says Young, not only tied to the country but almost to the parish in which their ancestors lived.

though the country since 1792 has been largely drawn on for soldiers and sailors, who to the amount of some hundreds of thousands have perished in the service of their country (1).—Sir William Petty states that in 1672, when the population of Ireland was but 1,100,000, England and Wales contained six millions of inhabitants—the population of the former is now at least $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions—of the latter at the utmost 10: and thus it appears that in the space of 135 years the population of England has encreased little more than *one half*, while that of Ireland has, under all the disadvantages of a *civil war*, of *penal restrictions* of a *rebellion* and of *uninterrupted emigrations* been *quintupled*, an encrease *ten times* as great (2). This vast superiority in the proportionate encrease of population in Ireland above England is owing to causes which a little reflection may make obvious, and which as similar causes must produce similar effects, will by their continued operation, unless interrupted by unforeseen events, tend to make that disproportion every day still greater. The principal of these are truly stated by Young to be 1st. There being no poor laws; 2d. their habitations; 3d. the generality of marriage; 4th children not being burdensome; 5th potatoes being their food. Our advantages in all these respects are most decisive. Sir William Petty in speaking of the Irish peasantry observes in his usual concise and pointed way: “they live in such cottages as they themselves can make in three or four days, eat such food as they buy not from others, and wear such cloaths as the wool of their own yarn spun by themselves doth make;” at that time he calculated the whole annual expence of a family so composed to be about £2 12s. and at the period of Young’s tour they exactly agreed in this description, for he speaks in the same terms of their cabbins, which too generally are still the most miserable hovels that can well be conceived; these they will erect with two or three days labour, and “the young couple pass not their youth in celibacy for want of a nest to produce their young in,” whereas in England a couple will not

(1) Vide Bushe and Newenham on the population of Ireland.

(2) The population of Ireland too, though so rapidly encreasing beyond that of England has in no instance tended to incumber the land with useless members or with taxes, while out of the ten millions of England and Wales there are at this instant near 2,000,000 of her inhabitants worse than useless.

not marry unless they can get a house, which, at the time he wrote, took from 25 to £60. As to food and cloathing, the Irishman and his wife are much more solicitous to feed than to cloath either themselves or their children (1); and most fortunately for them their food is of that species which is produced in the greatest quantity by the smallest space of land. These circumstances together with the absence of poor rates and other heavy taxes have given Ireland a superiority in point of progressive population which she must ever preserve so long as they remain essentially unaltered (2).

As it is obvious then that Ireland is possessed of a very considerable population, and an improved, though still very defective state of agriculture, as the former must encrease every day, while the latter can by no means arrive at any reasonable degree of perfection without the removal of certain disabilities under which it has long laboured, as Ireland is possessed of no trade, when we compare what she has, with what it ought or might be in proportion to her population and her agriculture, and as the only branch of trade she may be said to possess is confined to one province, it is out of the question that her *present* agriculture and manufactures can furnish employment to her redundant population; what provision then is to be made for our present abundant population and its future probable encrease? We will not now as in ages past wish for the *transplantation* of our people, we cannot transport their redundancies to our colonies, and will not permit them to be embattled in the ranks of our enemies: no, it is now admitted and seems at length to be understood in Ireland that the "decay of population is the greatest evil a state can suffer, and the encouragement of it one of the first objects of policy:" It is now felt that the greater our population, the more may England be advantaged; the greater our physical strength, the

(1) The nakedness of the young Irishman almost from his cradle and his consequent exposure to every variety of weather contribute in no small degree to that hardihood for which he is so remarkable.

(2) "The condition, says Paley, most favourable to population is that of a laborious frugal people ministering to the demands of an opulent luxurious nation, because this situation whilst it leaves them every advantage of luxury exempts them from the evils which naturally accompany its admission into any country." This in a great measure is the situation of Ireland at the present instant, and will every day approach closer thereto, if proper and expedient steps be adopted.

the more will England be dreaded, *if that physical strength be conciliated* (1). The great and growing exigencies of the British army

(1) A question here very naturally arises how this physical strength can best be conciliated; most unquestionably by the removal of those grievances under which it labours.—That the Catholics of Ireland, who as we have already seen, constitute its great physical strength, have laboured under grievances the most odious and oppressive, and that some of these yet remain, none will deny, nor at the same time can it be disputed, that in the past relaxation of them, “there was, as has been so justly observed by Lord Clare, a most fatal error; as it should have been taken up *systematically* by the ministers of the Crown, and not left in the hand of every individual, who chose to take possession of it, as an engine of power or popularity.”—This observation came from a quarter the most hostile to Catholic claims, and at a time too when the Catholics themselves were not inactive agents in effecting the extinction of a Legislature, which had granted them all they at present possess. He was too clear-sighted not to have seen that though important concessions were successively made to the Catholics, yet that his Majesty’s government received little credit or gratitude in return, in consequence of the mode in which they were conferred, as they were too often wrung from a reluctant minister, or refused one Session and granted the next.—What enemy is there of the Catholic cause, that ought not now most sincerely repent, that as concessions have been made, they did not originate with the Crown—and as what yet remains to be imparted is a mere trifle compared with that which has already been conceded, is it not better to profit by past experience and cheerfully, and with a good grace at once to give that little which ultimately will be granted.—And what is it that we thus hesitate to grant?—A mere capability of holding certain Offices, from the majority of which it would still be optional with a Protestant King to exclude them—to the Catholic himself a mere trifle, except so far as it tends to check the ardour of youth and the enthusiasm of genius, and “to generate and to keep alive a humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach and suspicion.”—It is a concession to which the Catholic is entitled by right, which Great Britain is by the Union bound in honor to make, and which in her present situation, requiring the united energies of every citizen, it is impolitic in the extreme to refuse. For now are we reduced to a practical dilemma, “as we must either resume all we have granted or grant all we retain,” and grant it we ought, because a nominal, but degrading distinction should be abolished in a nation, that fears “the name of degradation more even than the reality.”—These however are grievances that merely affect the Catholic Lords and Gentlemen, who alone do not constitute the physical strength of the country.—Are there none that peculiarly affect the farmer and peasant as well Protestant as Catholic? Of what it may be asked do the Catholic aristocracy complain? of *not* being generals, admirals, judges and senators, while the farmer and peasant complain and have long complained of high and oppressive rents, of low prices of labour, of tithe and of the burden of their own priesthood, the whole of whose support is almost exclusively derived from the poorer class of Catholics; the one complain of grievances obviously *negative*, the other of hardships decidedly *positive*. To which should

army and navy call for a redundant population *somewhere*, and the crops of England so unequal to the maintenance of her people;

we first pay attention?—Unquestionably to that grievance most urgent in its nature, to the real and substantial distress; the peasantry certainly demand our more immediate notice for, “such is the weight of the lower classes in the great scale of national importance, that the Legislature can never give too much attention to every circumstance that concerns them; their welfare forms the broad basis of public prosperity; it is they that feed, cloath, enrich and fight the battles of all the other ranks of the community; it is their being able to support their various burdens without oppression, which constitutes the *general felicity*; in proportion to their *ease* is the *strength* and *wealth* of nations, as public *debility* will be the certain attendant on their misery.” And as “the population of every country, says Paley, is replenished by the marriages of the lower ranks of society, their accommodation and relief becomes of more importance to the state, than the conveniency of any *higher* but *less numerous* order of its citizens.” But should we in opposition to these strong reasons be induced only to give ear to the complaints of the lord and of the rich commoner and to postpone any consideration of the distresses of the poor, should we be induced to look to emancipation as the great and sole measure of conciliation, as the means best calculated for tranquillizing an agitated country, for gaining the cordial co-operation of all its inhabitants and smothering for ever the embers of disaffection, we would be most egregiously disappointed, for though granted in its fullest extent it still leaves the peasant in the same miserable and degraded state; it leaves the Catholic priesthood unaided by the state and a burden on the lowest of the people: it leaves the people under high and oppressive rents with a low priced labour to discharge them; it leaves the unequal tax of county cess and the still more unequal and vexatious burden of tithes; these are the grievances, which so long as they exist, maintain a nursery for disaffection, make them strangers to comfort and prone to insurrection; remove them and you have a loyal and affectionate peasantry, who in place of assisting the invader, will shed the last drop of their blood in defence of that country, in which they enjoy so many blessings and of that government from whom these blessings have flowed.—But if blind to these most obvious sources of discontent, we should merely look to the removal of the few remaining disabilities of the Catholic and upon their repeal rest the safety of the Empire, our situation would, if possible, in that case be rendered still more insecure, as the peasant who by such repeal can experience no real benefit, would thereby be induced to despair of relief and give uncontrouled sway to those violent passions, which so peculiarly distinguish his character. As it is plain therefore that *emancipation*, unaccompanied by other measures of relief, would, if obtained, be in the present crisis an inefficacious concession, let all ranks in the community join heart and hand in obtaining at the same time for the peasant a commutation of tithes, a tax upon Absentees, and a relief from the burden of his own Clergy, for to emancipation he is more or less indifferent, as will more clearly appear by the following question and answer.

Do

people, loudly demand every possible encouragement to the pursuits of agriculture (1). And as Ireland neither has nor probably will have sufficient manufacture to employ her redundant population, and as the whole of this redundancy cannot be drawn into the service of our army and navy, she can have no other or better substitute than tillage, the promotion of which will give employment to her present population, will multiply it an hundred fold, will supply the deficiencies of England and banish poverty and disaffection from our shores. Swift's observations still apply with too much truth to Ireland: "the cultivating and improvement of land, says he, is certainly a subject

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worthy

“ Do you think, asks my Lord Chancellor Clare, the mass of the people in Leinster, Munster and Connaught care the value of this pen or the drop of ink it contains for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation? Answer by Dr. M'Nevin—I am sure they do not, if by the mass of the people your Lordship means the common illiterate people: they do not understand it: what they very well understand is that it would be a very great advantage to them to be relieved from the payment of *tithes* and not to be *fleece*d by their landlords; and in answer to a similar question he further adds, “ *Catholic Emancipation* the people care not about: I am sure they ought not now: they know I believe very generally that it would be attended with no other effect than to admit into the House of Peers a few individuals who profess the Catholic religion, and enable some others to speculate on seats in the House of Commons ” See Memoir and Examinations of T. A. Emmett, O'Connor and M'Nevin before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords.

Thus it is plain, as M'Kenna expresses it, that "unless the repeal of the restrictive laws be a peace offering, it is not worth the acceptance: it is a matter of *small moment* for the Catholic to receive, but which would be gracious, wholesome and conciliating in the Protestants to offer: I wish, he says, the concession to take effect and to come not as the triumph of the Catholic over the Protestant, but as a propitiation and atonement, as a regulation of state and a token of cordiality."

(1) Anderson by a comparison of the exports and imports of England in the years 1750 and 1800,—shews on the reasonable supposition of an equal consumption of corn in both years, that the produce of the country in the former year exceeded the latter by 5,005,969 quarters of wheat; and in a communication to the board of agriculture, Mr. William Pitt of Wolverhampton goes into a minute calculation to shew, that upon an average of the last 25 years, the consumption of grain in Great Britain has exceeded its own growth by the annual produce of 200,000 acres of corn-land, and that the amount of such importation has considerably exceeded during that period of time one million per annum.

See vol. 5, pt. 1, p. 276.

worthy of the highest enquiry in any country, but especially in ours, where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those which are of the greatest importance, whereof I defy the most learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world, for we are denied the benefits which God and nature intended us. So that I think little is left us besides the cultivating our own soil, *encouraging agriculture*, and making great *plantations of trees*, that we might not be under the necessity of sending for corn and bark from England, and timber from other countries. This would encrease the number of our inhabitants and help to consume our national products as well as manufactures at home." Of course every discouragement to agriculture, which it is *in the power* of the legislature to remove, should be quickly done away, for there are several of these with which no legislature can interfere. No government can compel the landlord to set his land at reasonable rates and on leases of sufficient duration: no government can compel absentees to reside and take the superintendence of their own estates, no government can raise the price of labour which must be left to find its own level (1): all these must be at the option of individuals, who cannot always see their own interests in the best or clearest light. But is there no assistance that the state can afford the husbandman? Are tithes no impediment to his spirited exertions? This question naturally leads us to consider the operation of tithe on agriculture and population.

SECTION

(1) Sir William Temple speaking of absentees observes p. 8 "these circumstances so prejudicial to the encrease of trade and riches in a country, seem natural or at least have ever been incident to the government here, and without them the native fertility of the soil and seas in so many rich commodities, improved by multitudes of people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens and a situation, so commodious for all sorts of foreign trade, must needs have rendered this kingdom *one of the richest* in Europe and made a mighty encrease both of strength and revenue to the crown of England, whereas it has hitherto rather been esteemed and found to be *our weak side* and to have cost us more blood and treasure than it is worth.

SECTION III.

*Influence of Tithe, on Agriculture, and
Population.*

It is viewing tithes in the most favourable light, when we say with A. Smith that "taxes upon the produce of land are in reality taxes upon the rent, and that though they may be originally advanced by the farmer, are finally paid by the landlord: for when a certain portion of the produce is to be paid away for a tax, the farmer computes, as well as he can, what the value of this portion is one year with another likely to amount to, and he makes a proportionable abatement of the rent he agrees to pay the head landlord. There is no farmer who does not compute before hand what the church-tithe, a land tax of this kind, is one year with another likely to amount to." p. 226. v. 3. This however is not strictly true, for though in the first instance when the land is taken, its rent is reduced upon such a computation, yet does the farmer, *if industrious* pay a much larger portion than he could have calculated upon in the reduction of his rent.—Thus he may take land at 12s. an acre, which if not subject to tithe might in its present condition set at 15s. By industry and the expenditure of capital he so encreases the value of that land, that in place of 3s. an acre tithe, he pays 12s. an acre: so that finally he pays 24s an acre for his land which if not tithable he would have had for 15s. from his landlord; of course in such an instance he pays $\frac{3}{4}$ of the tax while his landlord pays but $\frac{1}{4}$ (1). "Tithe, however, Smith adds, and every other land tax of this kind under the appearance of perfect equality, are very unequal taxes: a certain portion of the produce being in different situations equivalent to a very different portion

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(1) This statement is founded in fact: a fixed modus only can obviate such inequality, but that from its stationary nature is decidedly objectionable, as leaving the income of the clergy permanently unchangeable.

of the rent. For upon the rent of rich lands, the tithe may sometimes be a tax of no more than $\frac{1}{5}$ or 4s. in the pound: whereas upon that of poorer lands, it may sometimes be a tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ or 10s. in the pound."—If tithe then be *in itself* a very unequal tax, how much more so is it in Ireland, as regulated by law, for there all pasture lands are exempted, and though the occupying tenant of such land may not therefore get it at a cheaper rent, yet is the rich, perhaps, the *Protestant* landlord of such grounds thereby freed from the charge of contributing to the maintenance of his own established clergy, while the Catholic farmer of a few acres has, besides the support of his own priesthood, the privilege of sharing his miserable pittance with ours (1). "The tithe, further adds Smith, as it is *frequently* a very unequal tax upon rent, so it is *always* a great discouragement both to the improvements of the landlord and to the cultivation of the farmer: the one cannot venture to make the most important, because generally the most expensive improvements, nor the *other* to raise the most valuable because generally too the most expensive crops, when the church which lays out no part of the expence is to share so very largely in the profit:" thus the cultivation of Madder was a long time confined to the united provinces because there exempted from this "destructive tax," and was only cultivated in England because the low modus of 5s. an acre was fixed by law. In the same manner the cultivation of flax and hemp in Ireland was encouraged by a fixed modus.—In another part Smith observes "that taxes upon the produce of land when destined for the maintenance of the state have advantages which serve in some measure to balance their inconveniency, but when destined for the maintenance of the church they are attended with nothing but inconveniency.

Paley in speaking of taxes says, "the sum to be raised being settled, a wise statesman will contrive his taxes principally with a view to its effect upon population, that is, he will so adjust them, as to give the least possible obstruction to those means of subsistence, by which the mass of the community are maintained,

(1) This most impolitic and pernicious exemption of pasture lands is one among many other reasons why a *commutation* of tithe is so much more necessary in Ireland than in England, though even there it is "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

tained; and in speaking of the discouragements to agriculture (besides rights of common and manorial claims, short leases which do not give the proprietor "sufficient power over the soil for its perfect cultivation" and the enclosure of tillage lands to be converted into pasture) he further mentions that it is discouraged by every constitution of landed property, which lets in those who have *no concern* in the improvement to a participation of the profit. This objection, he observes, is applicable to all such customs of manors as subject the proprietor upon the death of the landlord or tenant, or the alienation of the estate, to a fine apportioned to the improved value of the land. But of all institutions which are *in this way* adverse to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of *tithes*: tithes are a tax not only upon industry, but upon that industry which feeds mankind: upon that species of exertion which it is the aim of all wise laws to cherish and promote, and to uphold and excite which, composes the main benefit that the community receives from the whole system of trade and the success of commerce. And together with the more general inconveniency that attends the execution of tithes, there is this additional evil in the mode at least according to which they are collected at present, that they operate as a bounty upon pasturage: the burden of the tax falls with its chief, if not its whole weight, upon tillage, that is to say upon that precise mode of cultivation, which it is the business of the state to relieve and remunerate in *preference to every other*"—p. 520 (1). Little further need be added to sentiments

(1) "With respect to the encouragement of husbandry, in this as in every other employment, the true reward of industry is in the price and sale of the produce. The exclusive right to the produce is the only incitement which acts constantly and universally: the only spring which keeps human labour in motion. All therefore that the laws can do is to secure this right to the occupier of the ground, that is, to constitute such a system of tenure that the full and entire advantages of every improvement go to the benefit of the improver: that every man work for himself and that no one share in the profit, who does not assist in the production. Next to the indispensable requisites of internal peace and security, the chief advantage which can be derived to population from the interference of law appears to me to consist in the *encouragement of agriculture*—now the principal expedient by which such a purpose can be promoted, is to adjust the laws of property as nearly as possible to the following rules—1st to give the occupier all the power over the soil which is necessary for its perfect cultivation.

sentiments so explicit and so fairly supported: "no object in both kingdoms, says Young, can well be of greater importance than a fixed composition for tithe: It is a mode of payment so disagreeable in every respect to the clergy, so ruinous to the laity, that a general public improvement would follow such a measure. So burdensome is this mode of payment, that where the residence of the clergy is followed by tithes being paid in kind, the clergyman who ought to be an object beloved and revered, lives *really* upon the ruin of his parishioners, so that instead of giving public money to bring him into a parish, no application of those funds would be more beneficial in such a case than to purchase his absence."—"Tithes operate, says Sir John Sinclair, in a peculiar manner against the conversion of old grass lands into tillage and there is every reason to believe that a very considerable extent of land in England is kept perpetually in grass in order to avoid the payment of tithes.—Their conversion might be promoted by enforcing the necessity of commuting tithes, without which no considerable tract of old pasture can be broken up—such a measure would prevent future scarcities and render the country independant of foreign supplies"—"When clergymen, says the Reverend Mr. Douglas in his review of Roxburgh and Selkirkshire, accept a composition for tithe it is a *loss* to them, but a *material advantage* both to the proprietors and tenants of ground, who are thereby freed from a vexatious obstacle to useful improvements." The late Doctor Woodward Bishop of Cloyne who in the year 1787 so warmly resisted the attempts of those, who at that time wished to effect some commutation for tithes, or rather to establish an universal modus, makes concessions, that coming from him must be deemed conclusive, "I allow, he says, (p. 65, 9th edition) that they operate *like* a tax on industry and since the loss of tithes on agistment a very *unequal* one: that they are occasionally the cause of contention between the minister and parishioner: and that they are a troublesome species of property to the clergy. I shall further allow that if the farmer could really put the value of the tithes in

cultivation—2ndly, to assign the *whole* profit of every improvement to the person by whose activity it is carried on."—To this he further adds, "no measure of such extensive concern appears to me so *practicable*, nor any single alteration so *beneficial* as the conversion of tithes into corn rents." See Paley's philosophy art. agriculture and population.

in his own pocket it would be encouragement to the plough (1): and in p. 71; he adds whenever a better plan shall be suggested for the payment of the clergy, that is, *one equal in value* to them in succession and more *convenient* to the laity, they (the clergy) will thank the statesman who shall disencumber them of the *constant trouble* and the *occasional ill-will* arising from tithes."

It has been said, that tithe and rent do not differ in their nature, and that if the one was abolished, the other would rise in proportion, so as to afford no real advantage to the farmer.—It is true that in such a case rents would rise, and yet tho' it were granted that the increase of rent was even *greater* than what was paid for tithe, still would the farmer be a gainer thereby, for as a celebrated orator has said "*rent* is payment for land, tithe is payment for capital, and labour expended on land: the proportion of the former diminishes with the proportion of the produce, i. e. of the industry; the proportion of tithe increases with it.—Rent therefore, even an *high* rent may be a compulsion on labour and tithe a penalty." Tithe is precisely the same with rent in one respect: they are both alike calculated to draw from the soil the means of subsistence for a body of men, who bear no share in the trouble or expence of cultivating that soil—in this particular, they are precisely alike, but in no one other, and their operation as far as concerns the public weal will be found to be entirely different. Anderson has illustrated this point well—"Rent he observes when once fixed must continue the same for the time agreed on and must be as high to the most *slothful* as the most *industrious* farmer: if the last should rear an hundred times the produce of the first, the rent must continue the same to both: it therefore becomes oppressive to the indolent only, so as strongly to stimulate to industrious exertions. Tithe to the sloven is nothing: to the industrious man alone it becomes oppressive: it therefore has a necessary tendency to repress industry and arrest every energetic emotion in the former. If so, the the public must suffer by it: nor will the tithe owner be enriched, because the farmer, in order to prevent himself from being impoverished, will not rear in the proportion he might otherwise

(1) Tho' it would be impossible for the farmer to put the *whole* value of the tithes in his pocket, yet from the statements above made, it must be obvious, that he would pocket that share of it which resulted from the increased exertions of industry.

otherwise do, the article that the law authorises another to take from him." This last observation receives very full confirmation from the well known circumstance that by the fluctuation of tillage and pasture in a parish, the rector is liable to great reduction of income; and in this respect the rich farmer has the clergyman much in his power, and there have been instances of great landed proprietors reducing the value of a living very considerably (1): not so the peasantry, who, from the smallness of their farms, can have little pasture ground, and generally raise crops of corn and potatoes. Under all these circumstances, Anderson must be correct, when he says, "I have the best reason to think that I speak the sentiments of the most enlightened and respectable of the Clergy, when I say that any plan that could be devised by government for the better regulation of the tithes, so as to give free scope to the industry and improvement of the country, would be highly agreeable to them and tend in a material degree to remove those unfortunate prejudices, which in many instances lessen their usefulness, and are alike unfriendly to their own private comfort and to the morals of the people."

Can the unprejudiced mind, after a fair consideration of all these statements, entertain the least doubt that the tithe system has operated and must operate still to the material injury of agriculture, must check its further progress (2), and *consequently* tend to the great and equal diminution of population, the improvement of which is "the object that ought in all countries to be aimed at in preference to every other political purpose whatever."—Can we hesitate in affirming that a commutation of tithes, conducted upon the fair principle of equity to both parties, must be of essential advantage

(1) One gentleman with whom I am acquainted, having lands in his immediate possession, part of which are tithe free, has in consequence of the large composition demanded of him, converted the whole of that which paid tithe, into pasture, and raised his different crops upon the former, tho' that land was not so well calculated for tillage as the latter.—Thus are the clergy, self-interest, and agriculture too often sacrificed to resentment.

(2) It is a circumstance too notorious to require any investigation here that tithes are the great source of waste lands in both kingdoms, operating as a most effectual preventive against their cultivation.—Along with manorial claims in England, they raise an almost insuperable bar to the enclosure and consequent improvement of all the commons of that kingdom.

advantage to the farmer and to the clergyman.—To the *farming* interest of the kingdom it is a matter of no importance upon what principle tithes are commuted, whether at their full value, at an half, or any given rate—it is enough that they be *fixed* (2): for then the good farmer will have no partner to share the fruits of his well-earned labours. As then it cannot be denied that a tax which necessarily rises or falls according to the exertions of the person who has to pay, or the disposition of him who receives, must be founded upon improper principles, so few measures of legislation would be more conducive to the internal prosperity of the country, than a valuation and commutation of tithe.—That the change would be of no less moment to the *Clergy* may be judged of, as well by what has been already advanced, as by the subsequent and other considerations.

(1) “Ultimately indeed, says Anderson, I do not consider it as a material object either to the farmer or to the country at large, what the proportion payable as tithe is, so as it be but *fixed*. It may indeed affect landed gentlemen; but it would be easy to shew that no proportion, which reasonable men could be brought to pronounce *equitable*, could ever ultimately prove injurious to them.”—See remarks on Howlett.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER III.

Influence of Tithe on Religion and Morals.

THE law, which allots tithe for the maintenance of the established clergy, permits them, if they please, to draw their full tenth in kind. This is frequently done in England, but rarely in Ireland by the *clergy*; when persevered in, it must terminate in the ruin of the farmer (1), and be followed by the consequent detestation of his destroyer. That in such a case as this, the religion and morals of a parish will suffer, must be obvious to all, but such as conceive that the precepts of love and peace can be enforced by him, whose practice is the destruction of both (2). Where, however, a composition in money is received in lieu of tithe in kind, tho' the farmer benefits thereby, yet in the end, religion and morals suffer as much: but *here* it is the fault *not* of the clergyman, but of the *establishment* by which he is maintained. If unwilling to draw, he must either compound by himself or by an agent; his office is degraded in the first instance—too often 'tis rendered odious in the second. If he acts for himself and wishes

(1) The Rev. Mr. Howlett admits, that if the clergy were rigidly to exact what they have a title to claim, they would ruin half the farmers in England; and tho' the tithes there are greater and more strictly enforced than in Ireland, yet is the English farmer much better able to bear them, because his landlord does not oppress him with *rack* rents: besides, the persons subject to tithe in England are comparatively few, and these comparatively rich, while in Ireland, every cottier being more or less a *farmer*, is liable to the unwelcome visits of the proctor.

(2) Many clergymen have left their homes to avoid the rancorous malignity of their parishioners, excited by tithe disputes; and farmers who pay tithe in kind for the most part, consider those who draw it, in the same light nearly, that brewers and distillers view the officers of excise: and the ingenuity of these two description of persons is almost continually on the stretch to discover some way in which they can be cheated. It is easy to perceive that a person whose wits have been thus exercised from his infancy to discover modes of evasion, will at last acquire a considerable degree of dexterity in it, so as often to foil an honest man, who happens to acquire a right to their tithe.

wishes to deal gently, his income suffers materially, and very often his parishioners, who, from previous dealings with former rectors, have perhaps lost all respect and love for the clerical character, and are accustomed to transactions whose cunning and chicanery have been exercised to the utmost stretch, take advantage of his easiness of temper—he is imposed upon at all hands, and receives but a very small proportion of what he has a legal title to demand. Such a clergyman does not, in many cases, realise much more than one half the sum to which he is entitled. To such men, this mode of providing a living, is, perhaps, among the worst that can be devised. As few however can willingly submit to such deductions from their yearly incomes, necessity too often compels the best disposed clergyman to employ a proctor for its collection: and even the rector who is determined to exact the uttermost farthing which the law authorises him to take, will rather enforce it thro' his agent, than in his own immediate person. Hence the proctor is a personage essentially connected with, and absolutely necessary to the clergyman under the present establishment. The character of the proctor needs no description: he hires the tithe from the rector, whom he will impose on as readily as on his parishioners, and is willing to undergo all the odium of his office for the profits that may arise from it; these are variable, because proportionate to the hardness of his heart, and his ingenuity in devising means of extortion (1). The ecclesiastical courts which were designed equally for the protection of the clergy and the laity, are in his hands an instrument of terror by which

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(1) “ A tithe farmer, said a celebrated orator, is an adventurer, who gives a certain rent for the privilege of making a bad use of an unsettled claim. This claim over the powers of collection is in his hands an instrument not of justice but of usury: he sometimes sets the tithes to a second tithe farmer, so that the land becomes a prey to a subordination of vultures. In arbitrary countries the revenue is collected by men who farm it, and it is a mode of oppression, the most severe in the most arbitrary country—the farming the revenue is given to the Jews. We introduce this practice in the collection of tithes: obnoxious on account of all this, the inoffending clergyman, thrown off the rich upon the poor, cheated most exceedingly by his tithe farmer, and afterwards involved in his odium, becomes an object of outrage; his property and person both attacked, and in both the religion and laws of the country scandalised and disgraced.—The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea—it is the practice of absolute kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careless about their people, get a fixed income from some desperate adventurer, and thus let loose on the community this animal of prey, at once destitute of remorse and armed with authority.”

which he enforces submission to his exactions; and yet, even here, I do not mean to have it understood that the proctor takes more or so much as the full tithe, for that would be the ruin of the farmer, but he approaches to it, and enforces the payment in a manner often the most odious, expensive, or insulting;—besides, this composition is ever varying under different incumbents, always however rising with every change, and in the same proportion does the odium against tithes accumulate (1). Is it possible under such circumstances that religion should flourish, when the priesthood is neither respected nor loved, where it ought to be revered. Can morals improve, when the parson is placed in a situation “where his property falls with his virtues, and rises with his bad qualities: just so the parishioner, he loses by being ingenuous, and he saves by dishonesty”.—“The welfare of society, says Anderson, depends more upon the influence of a respectable clergy than upon that of any other body of men whatever; and one of my principal objections to tithe is, that it tends so powerfully to diminish that influence among the people.” The Rev. Mr. Howlet, in reply to whose pamphlet, Anderson had made the foregoing observations, himself admits, p. 61. that “the most powerful cause of moral and religious influence in a clergyman, is the affection of his parishioners; and of this affection he adds, we as far, as I can discover, possess *so very little*, that a commutation of our tithes could not possibly diminish it; on the contrary, it would give a fair chance for its encrease, as it would remove all competition of personal interest, and render us more independent.” (2) In England, tithes are a powerful cause of many quitting the church, and of creating and supporting sectaries; they are a never-ending source of ill-will, quarrelling and litigation, and are unquestionably one great cause of the decrease of religion and morals.

(1) Every attempt to augment tithe is a most infallible means of promoting parochial war, and of destroying that harmony and friendship which ought ever to subsist between the pastor and his flock. “The payment of tithes in this kingdom, says Swift, is subject to so many *frauds, brangles, and difficulties*, not only from papists and dissenters, but even from those who profess themselves protestants, that by the expence, trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents, the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.—See his reasons against settling the tithe of Hemp, &c.

(2) This position is fully exemplified in the instance of such clergymen as reside in towns, for between them and their parishioners, it very seldom happens that disputes do arise, their stipends being raised by a *fixed tax*.—Why rectors resident in the country should not be supported by a tax equally fixed, is a question not easy of solution.

If these consequences follow in England how much more aggravated must they be in Ireland, where those liable to tithe are four out of five Catholics; men having besides a numerous clergy of their own to support; in *that* country a reform must above all things be most desireable; as in that country together with greater oppression in the collection of the tax, there is also a greater and much more pernicious influence exerted on the morals of the people, for "there, as has been observed by a gentleman no less celebrated for the purity of his patriotism than the splendour of his eloquence, parishes are not only subject to one tithe farmer, but in some cases are cursed with a legion of them: a non-resident clergyman shall employ a tithe farmer, who shall set the tithe over again to two blacksmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. His mode of collection is another scourge: he puts his charges into one or more promissory notes, payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons charging him with 6d for the service and one shilling for the summons,(1) he sometimes puts the whole into a Kerry bond, or instrument which bears interest, he either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution and gets the countryman's body or goods completely in his power, whereby the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe farmer, draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf for *nothing*, give him their labour, their cars, and their horses at certain times of the year for *nothing*. And to this oppression is to be added that intoxication and idleness which not seldom attend the method, in which the tithe farmer settles his accounts with the poor parishioners, devoted to his care. The place in which he in general settles his accounts, makes his bargains and transacts his business is the ale-house: he sometimes keeps one himself, or has a relation who gets a licence to sell ale or spirits, because his friend is employed in the church and will bring him custom." These observations though strongly coloured, yet bear with them the plain stamp of truth, and while they testify the deep investigation of their author into the

(1) Mr. Lidwell, in his very excellent speech to the freeholders of the county Tipperary, has mentioned a still more flagitious act of the proctor: he states that he sometimes makes the countryman swear he will pay him on a certain day, and when, as is too usual, he fails in the performance, he extends the period for a premium: thus adding the guilt of perjury to the cruelty of extortion.

the subject, afford the most convincing proof how seriously the morals of Ireland must suffer by the tithe farmer, the too necessary appendage of the present establishment. I shall now conclude this Chapter with the following extract from Anderson's observations on Mr. Howlett's pamphlet, as the clearness of his comprehension and the goodness of his heart have contributed in no small degree to place the influence of tithes on religion and morals in their proper point of view; these most excellent observations are to be found in the 2nd vol. of the 2nd series of his recreations, p. 496:—some of them apply with peculiar force to Ireland. “No man, he observes, who takes a view of the state of men's minds in this country respecting the clergy, can doubt that the foregoing considerations make a deep impression on them in general. The virulence indeed with which men speak of the clergy universally, in respect to the drawing of tithes, can leave no doubt that this bias of mind has taken deep root and will be difficult to eradicate: nor can any one, who knows the blessed effects that accrue to society from the influence of the clerical body, when they are respected and beloved by their people, fail deeply to deplore this circumstance, and sincerely to regret that any political arrangement had ever been devised that should have a direct tendency to counteract that influence. Few persons have had the same opportunities that I have had of seeing the difference between the *respect* with which the lower ranks of the community behold the clergy in those countries where *no tithes* are known and where of course there are few temptations to give offence from the collision of opposite interests, and that *aversion* from the clergy, which is enough to freeze the serious mind of a serious christian with horror, that is observed so universally to prevail among the lower ranks in other countries, where tithe disputes are perpetually ranking in the mind, that lead to acts of insolence or cruelty in the clergy and of villainy and fraud among the people and which are too often by both gloried in as virtues, instead of being detested as vices of the deepest dye. During the first 50 years of my life I lived in Scotland, where the parson of the parish, from this circumstance, chiefly is almost universally looked up to as the father of the people, the preserver of the poor, the adviser of the weak, the instructor of the ignorant, and the consoler of every one who is in distress. His conduct in most cases is such as gives a weight to his precepts

precepts which they could not otherwise obtain, and his discourses are listened to with a respect bordering on veneration. The superior respectability of the clergy in Scotland among the people, which so peculiarly characterises them, is to be chiefly attributed to the circumstance of their being freed from the temptation of ever entering into any contests with their parishioners respecting tithes or other pecuniary concerns. No man, who seriously reflects on these things, and reflects at the same time upon the great weight that the pure doctrines of Jesus, when preached by a man whose character is held in that degree of respect, must have upon the minds of the people in purifying their morals and regulating their conduct, but must consider it as a matter of the very first importance to society. Even to a layman who considers it merely in a political light, it will be viewed as inestimable, but to a clergyman, whose views are extended beyond the grave, and who contemplates the blessed effects that may result from his ministration, when thus aided, compared with what it would have been, had these influences been counteracted by other causes, who can estimate the exultation that his mind must feel, should a prospect be opened to him of having the whole of the clerical order freed from those bars, which have hitherto so powerfully obstructed his labours in the vine-yard of the Lord Jehovah. That many of the clergy of England at this moment feel such sensations as these; and from these feelings relinquish claims that the law might authorise them to enforce, no person can either doubt or deny, and that the income of such good men is thus diminished beyond what it ought justly to be, is certain and much to be regretted, but it is too much to be lamented that there are others of the clerical order, regardless of these considerations who exact with severity the uttermost farthing that the law authorises them to demand. There can be no doubt that from the causes above explained the most virtuous and truly conscientious part of the clergy of this country sustain a *depreciation* in respect to income and a *depression* of mind respecting the inefficacy of their pastoral exertions that is much to be deplored, while those who account their clerical duties as nothing are elevated to affluence. That a *commutation of tithe* he adds, could be suggested by which the income of the clergy in general would be greatly *augmented*, and that should be liable to none of these powerful objections to tithe, whether *civil* or *religious*, I have no hesitation to declare to be unequivocally my opinion."

If then from the foregoing statements it has been made to appear, that the present mode of maintaining our clergy has in itself either given rise to or greatly aggravated the disturbances which from time to time have taken place, *if* in its very nature and principles it is calculated to set the rector and the landlord against each other and the tenant against both, *if* its tendency be to repress the industrious exertions of the agriculturist and to check population, *if* by it the wholesome influence of an enlightened clergy be obstructed or totally lost to the community, *if* by it the religion and morals of the people be endangered, surely no rational or well meaning individual will object to the proposition of a *commutation*, if such a commutation can be devised, as will be attended with all the *positive* advantages of the present mode, unencumbered by any of its *obnoxious* consequences. Such a measure at any period would be highly expedient: at the *present awful crisis* it is still more indispensable: and as one of the principal duties of the legislature of every country is to correct those laws, which in consequence perhaps of a change of circumstances, have been found to exert a pernicious influence on that community, for whose preservation and welfare they were originally enacted, it is to be hoped that at so awful an exigency our legislature will not be wanting to themselves and to the country.

CHAPTER IV.

Propriety of allowing a public Support for the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches.

Previous to the developement of our plan for a commutation of tithe, it may not be amiss to premise a few observations on the expediency of assigning an adequate maintenance for the support of the Catholic clergy and Presbyterian ministers. Were I addressing myself to the Irish reader alone, I had been altogether silent on the subject, for to such the justice, the policy and humanity of the measure could not be unknown: but as the question *will* come before an Imperial Parliament, and as these observations may possibly be perused on the other side of the water, where alas! the concerns of Ireland have always been too much neglected or too little understood, I have deemed it not inadvisable to dwell somewhat in this place on the more striking advantages of the measure.

The established religion in most countries is that, which has been adopted not only by the ruling powers of the state, but also by the great bulk of the people: This is the case in France, in Spain, in Germany, in England, and in every nation of the habitable globe, if we except Scotland, Canada and Ireland: in the two former the religion of the people is predominant and protected by the state: in the latter the religion of the state is that established throughout the realm.—The reason of those exceptions and of the differences existing between them is easily made obvious. In Scotland the reformation took place at a time, when that country was independant of England, and the Presbyterian form of church government was in some degree established there before James ascended the English throne: it was however occasionally intruded upon by the episcopal discipline; but

as the aversion of the nation was insurmountable, it subsisted with difficulty, until "at the revolution, as Robertson expresses himself, the inclinations of the people were thought worthy the attention of the legislature, the Presbyterian government was again established, and being ratified by the Union, is still maintained in the kingdom."—When Canada was brought under subjection to the British arms, it was inhabited almost exclusively by Roman Catholics, and as the British government very wisely deemed it inadvisable to irritate the people by the forcible introduction of the reformation, the religion of the people was established by law (1). In Ireland however the case is reversed: for at the time the reformation was established in England, this country was in part dependent upon her, and therefore in *that part* the reformation became the established religion, and under
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(1) When Canada finally submitted in 1760, one of the articles agreed upon was, that the Catholic religion should enjoy the most perfect toleration, and that the people should be made under the new establishment to pay the tithes to the priests: the former condition was fully granted, the latter was left to the discretion of the King.—Accordingly the Quebec bill, which received the Royal assent in 1774, provided that the Catholic religion be *not only* tolerated, but that the tithes be given for its support; the Protestant religion was merely tolerated, and its professors very reasonably *exempted* from the payment of tithes to the Catholic priesthood.—In this instance a principle is laid down and at that day never once objected to by the spiritual lords, that it is a thing in itself unreasonable to require of the professor of one religion to contribute to the exclusive support of another, and consequently it countenances in the strongest manner the proposition here advanced of the justice of maintaining the clergy of the three sects in Ireland out of one and the same fund, raised indiscriminately upon all the people.—The wisdom of the measures adopted towards the Canadians was evinced by their steady loyalty during the American struggle: their conduct on that occasion, so different from the other states, is a further confirmation of the opinion, how little disposed Catholics have ever been to entertain republican principles; and yet when the Quebec bill was before the House of Lords, Lord Chatham, the illustrious father of Pitt, opposed it in all its clauses. He even appealed in the strongest manner to the bench of bishops to set their face against a clause, the enactment of which without any opposition on their part, has furnished the best test of their liberality and christian charity.—But alas! Lord Chatham was then in *opposition*, and in opposition not only to the ministers of the day, but to a principle laid down by himself in his conduct towards the Highlanders. The good effects of the policy adopted towards them and towards the Canadians will not, I am sure at the present day, be requisite to induce the representatives of the church to imitate the sound and christian policy of their predecessors.

James it was made the religion of the whole island, without any previous conversion having been wrought among the people. "The clergy of the Roman Catholic religion, says M^r Kenna, ministering to a contented people were disturbed in their possessions and jurisdictions, and finally evicted altogether. The rulers of the state conceived another form of religion more correct. Did they endeavour to communicate their impressions to the people? Did they wait to carry their measures into effect, until it was adopted by any considerable portion of the people, or were any probable means employed to procure this popular countenance?"—These questions must unfortunately be answered in the negative, and hence it has come to pass that the religion of the state still differs from the religion of the people. The motive however, which compelled the state to consent to the establishment of the religion of the people in Scotland and in Canada, never existed in Ireland: in the former the people had almost to a man conformed to the Presbyterian discipline: in Canada they were all of the Catholic persuasion, but in Ireland they consist of three distinct classes and of three different religions: the landed property of the country is Protestant, its rich manufacturers are Presbyterians, while the labouring poor forming the great mass of its population are of the Catholic persuasion. Under such a state of things the religion of any one of these classes could not possibly "have satisfied the purposes of a national religion:" but it would have been a most singular anomaly indeed, in case any one of them was to predominate, if the property of the country was not most respected: the national religion, however, of Ireland should not consist of any one, but *of the three combined*: of the *Protestant*, because embraced by the landlords, the influential men of every country: of the *Presbyterian*, because it is the discipline of the manufacturing wealth of the kingdom, and of the *Catholic* religion, because professed by the great body of the people: these three should compose the national religion of Ireland: *that is* the three should be recognised by the state and alike maintained by the people: this is done for the Protestant, it is done in part for the Presbyterian, and it *should* be done for the Catholic, as there is some ground for thinking that "the Catholic clergy, who administer to above $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the people, do not complain without reason, that they, who perform in the country all the

effective duties of religion, receive so little of the emoluments arising from that profession" (1). But 'tis not *justice* merely which demands, *policy* will sanction and *humanity* require at our hands that an adequate provision be made for the Catholic priesthood.

The *policy*, which countenances this claim is of a double nature, as relating to the *security* of the Protestant, and to the *efficacy* of the Catholic establishment. At the present moment the whole of the church lands and two thirds of the tithes are appropriated to the ministers of a religion, embraced by not more than $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the people. Should there, in the *present* state of the national church, any change or revolution occur, the subversion, the total subversion of the Protestant establishment is inevitable, *unless* by a change in the system itself all parties are made to feel an equal interest in its continuance: and as, by the plan proposed, it is intended to provide a *common fund*, from whence the maintenance of the Protestant, Catholic and Presbyterian clergy shall be derived, *a fund*, which shall be apportioned among them upon the justest principles, and to which all of every sect and denomination shall equally contribute, it must follow that all will feel an equal disposition to preserve it: under such circumstances it is impossible to conceive any desire on the part of the clergy or the people to disturb its security or to subvert an establishment so equitable: under such circumstances it may be likened to the house built upon a rock, which the storm of revolution shall assail in vain, the floods may descend, the winds may blow and beat upon that house and it shall not fall, because it was built upon a rock.—But a wiser and still more enlightened policy requires that some provision should be made for the Catholic clergy: at present they are dependent upon their flocks for support and in order to obtain it are obliged to cultivate all the arts of popularity and too often to court their favour through the medium of their prejudices and their passions: under such circumstances it is impossible that the Catholic clergyman, though in one way possessed of unbounded

(1) "The Romish clergy, says M'Kenna, are in truth no more than curates to their brethren of the established church, discharging without expence duties, which but for their interference would have devolved on the latter, and which they should either fulfill in person or pay for."

unbounded influence, can ever effectually controul the unruly passions of his flock, where feelings stronger than those of religion may be brought to operate upon their minds: in such a case he can never stem the tide, he must be borne along with it or perish. "We have had among us, says M'Kenna, precisely that degree of Catholicism, which sufficed to pre-occupy the mind, and prevent the admission of other modes of instruction, but was utterly inadequate to restrain the vehement passions of untutored man and reduce his propensities within the limits of social institutions." That the dependence of the Catholic clergy is of the most degrading kind, and such as utterly incapacitates them from exerting a wholesome and beneficial influence over their flocks, is apparent from the same well informed writer. "In Connaught, says he, the Catholic genrry are above attending *minutely* to the occasions of the clergy, and the poor are not able to do so: in Leinster and Munster, the prevalence of agriculture has given rise to many comfortable farmers, but still they are not prompt in their contributions, requiring to be constantly pressed, solicited, *nay* teized: it is however in one shape or other obtained from them. The stipend thus levied for the parochial clergy is, as he adds, adequate to the comfortable subsistence of a single man, but is *precarious*, and being obtained by mean soliciting, induces habits inconsistent with any degree of firmness or elevation of mind, such as you would desire in the minister and magistrate of morality, where a rude and unreflecting people are to be formed to more tractable habits, to be guided and not unfrequently *resisted*. *It is not a necessitous but a degraded and dependent order*" (1). 'Twas this dependent situation, which rendered inefficient the exertions of the Catholic clergy during the course of the last rebellion and prevented them
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(1) As it is obvious from this statement that the Catholic clergy would of their own accord accede to any *reasonable* offer made them by the government, so is it equally plain that if they were ever so unwilling, they would be under the necessity of accepting it or ere long be thrown upon the liberality of the crown: "for, says M'Kenna, let it be but once promulgated that the government will take charge of this establishment, numbers of the laity will immediately hold themselves excused from the accustomed contributions, for so *reluctantly* are these paid, that the priest, who hesitates to press and urge for his dues, will find himself *miserably* deficient."

proving themselves as instrumental, as they were disposed, in checking on that and other occasions the spirit of disaffection and turbulence which so universally prevailed in their flocks. Where under such circumstances they did interfere, it was *always* followed by a great diminution of their influence, *sometimes* by the desertion of their flock, *occasionally* by terrors for their personal safety. But independent of these discouragements, they were still more deterred from *officious* interference by the narrow-minded jealousy with which, as Catholics, they were viewed by the zealous loyalists of these times, who would make no allowance for *their* peculiar situation or for the necessary consequences of their own demeanour towards them. If we wish to see them useful, let them be taken out of this dependent and degraded situation, let that confidence, which in the worst of times they have merited, be placed in them, and they will then be able, as they have always been willing, to exert their influence for the preservation of peace, and the diffusion of harmony and good will (1).

But the ground upon which, above all others, the propriety nay the indispensable necessity of allotting a public maintenance for the Catholic Clergy becomes indisputable, is this, that their maintenance is at present almost exclusively derived from the lowest and poorest orders of the communion; for they, as has been shewn, are not only allowed the privilege of contributing to the support of our clergy, but are also permitted by the higher and richer members of their own persuasion, to levy among themselves an annual sum of £ 100,000 for the support of their priesthood, without contributing thereto, in proportion to their rank or wealth. And thus

(1) A feeling prevails pretty extensively in England and with some few in Ireland, that the Catholic priests were all disloyal. The opinion has obviously originated in the circumstance of one fanatic of their body having headed the insurgents during the late rebellion. On the same ground there is no description of men in Ireland that might not be attainted of disaffection: the members of the university: the yeomen: the militia. Were we as assiduous in collecting, as ready in believing and as eager to circulate tales of an opposite nature, we might find abundance of materials to convince the most incredulous, that a spirit far removed from disloyalty pervaded the Catholic priesthood at that period.—Many facts of this description are in my possession: did the limits of this work permit, I should take as much pleasure in detailing, as most of my readers would in perusing them.

thus are those miserable wretches, already oppressed by the rack-rents of middlemen on the one side, and by the exactions of the proctor on the other, still further impoverished by the maintenance of a numerous priesthood (1). The principle of allowing a public support to a clergy, different from those of the established church, has been already conceded, for it is now more than a century since a *regium donum* was granted to the Presbyterians of Ulster, which allowance has of late years been augmented to near £ 20,000 annually (3); and shall it be said that we afford assistance to the rich manufacturers of the north in the support of their clergy, while we refuse extending the same relief to the miserable cottiers of the south. I shall never be brought to believe, that such *unequal* attention had been shewn by the government of the country, were it as easy to afford relief to one as to the other; the Presbyterian clergy were comparatively few in number, without an hierarchy—the Catholic clergy were many and governed by an hierarchy, equal to our own in number. There was no fund to answer the demands of so numerous a body, nor is there any provided at present; and tho' the propriety of allotting a public support for the Catholic clergy, and a more liberal allowance for the Presbyterian church be undisputed, yet must it be as vain to talk of so doing, till a fund sufficient for the purpose can be established, as it would be to talk of *commuting* tithes, until an advisable mode of effecting it shall be pointed out.

As it is plain therefore, that the only substantial objection to either proposition consists in the *quo modo*, I shall forthwith proceed, if possible, to remove it, by submitting a *plan*, which after long and mature deliberation appears to me best calculated for meeting the real difficulties in the way of either.

(1) The Catholic clergy, finding the difficulty of extracting a subsistence from those, who in some degree want it themselves, are compelled to refuse the rites of their church, under certain stipulated sums. Thus Mr. Rawson in his survey of the county Kildare states, when speaking of the heavy incumbrance of the Catholic clergy upon the peasant, that one of them will not ride a mile to christen an infant without a fee of a crown, and that all the other rites of their church are administered in the same proportion.

(2) This sum is in itself utterly inadequate to the comfortable provision of the Presbyterian clergy: its further augmentation is therefore provided for in the plan about to be submitted.

CHAPTER V.

P L A N.

Adam Smith, that great political Arithmetician, lays down the four following maxims with regard to taxes in general, which, though self-evident in themselves, have been established by him upon reasoning the most conclusive :—

- 1st. "The subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the government, as nearly as possible, *in proportion* to their respective abilities ; that is, in proportion to the revenue, which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state."
- 2d. "The tax which each individual is bound to pay, ought to be *certain* and *not arbitrary*."
- 3d. "Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in manner, in which it is most likely to be *convenient* for the contributor to pay it."
- 4th. "Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the state."—(1)

Tithe

(1) Vol. 3.—p. 208.

Tithe is a tax that violates all the foregoing maxims, for independent of the powerful reasons adduced by Smith (1), and those already mentioned, the exemption in Ireland of dry and barren cattle from payment of this tax totally subverts the *first* maxim, as thereby the proprietors of lands devoted to pasture, generally speaking the most wealthy body of farmers, are altogether relieved from contributing to the support of the church, the whole weight whereof is thrown most unequally and unjustly upon the proprietors of lands, adapted to and engaged in tillage.

The *second* maxim is, if possible, still less adhered to, tithe being of the most arbitrary and unascertained nature: no two dioceses, nay, scarcely two parishes, agreeing upon what is tithable and what is not: the amount is equally uncertain and arbitrary, the humane clergyman sometimes scarcely requiring a $\frac{1}{30}$ th—the blood-sucking proctor and lay-impropriator oftentimes exacting the full tenth (2). It may be alledged that the present tithe system

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strongly

(1) See Section 3—p. 43 and 44 of this enquiry

(2) Mr. Thompson in his statistical survey of the county Meath states the general average of tithe paid in that county to be from 8 to 12s. for winter crops, 5s. to 8s. for spring crops, and from 4s. to 7s. for meadow; but that there were some parishes where from 12s. to 20s. were demanded for winter crops, from 12 to 17s. for spring crops, and from 6s. to 10s. for meadow; and that in consequence of such exorbitant demands parishioners were constantly serving notice to draw and incumbents in turn demanding tithe of things hitherto untithed in that county, as Turnips, Rape, &c. &c

Mr. Rawson in his survey of the county Kildare states, that a moderate *modus* was general through the county, viz.—Wheat 6s. an acre: oats 3s. barley 6s. bere 6s. meadow 3s. fleece 3s. lamb 3s. until an example of innovation was set by an extensive dealer in tithes: he introduced a mode of charging by the barrel; he estimated a wheat field at 10 barrels an acre: he charged the landlord one barrel and at the market price (supposing it would be conveyed there without expence) at 30s. per barrel: and he insisted on 30s. per acre.—The *dread* of citation and the loss of his straw, he adds, made the timorous ploughman submit.

How much clergymen of whose goodness of disposition I can speak from my own knowledge, may differ on this subject, will be best evinced by the following facts:—The parish of F——— produced to its incumbent Dr. M——— for several years previous to his death in 1800, 600l. per annum—his successor the Rev. Mr. H——— was *advised* that he was entitled to 1000l. per annum, which was accordingly levied. Mr. H——— having *resigned* this living, the gentleman who succeeded him has, I understand, estimated its value at 1500l. per annum, so that the farmer, who took

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strongly supports the *third* maxim, as the farmer has only to lay apart the tithe, and call upon its owners to draw without any inconvenience or expence to himself; in that case, however, the full tenth must be laid apart, which if universally done, would in a short time beggar the tenantry of the kingdom; therefore is the farmer left at the mercy of the tithe proctor to levy the payment at the time and in manner which shall best suit the purpose and interest of the *collector*, not of the *contributor*.

What is the doctrine maintained by the fourth maxim? It is "that every tax should be so contrived as both to take and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the treasury of the state:" or more properly speaking, in the present case, into the treasury of the church.—Never was there a tax imposed in any country, the collection of which so thoroughly violates this maxim as does tithe, for it not only affords an income to one set of farmers, who actually collect it, but oftentimes to two or more middlemen, who derive a considerable profit thereout, to the incalculable injury and oppression of the people, without the smallest advantage to the church.

Tithe, as now imposed and collected in Ireland, being a tax which thus violates every just principle of taxation, and being, *as already shewn*, the grand source of all those disturbances, which have within the last century interrupted the peace of this country, every well-wisher of it will naturally turn his thoughts to the consideration of the question, whether any arrangement can be made, whereby such disadvantages shall be obviated without diminishing the property or stability of the church.

In framing a plan for the better provision of the church the first fact necessary to be ascertained, is the amount of the tithe of the kingdom: for this purpose, let the clergy and lay impro-priators make a return upon oath of the produce of their tithes for the last three years, for which there is a precedent in the act passed in the 28th of the King to enable clergy of certain counties therein

lands previous to the death of Dr. M———, and who possibly computed his tithe at the average required by the Doctor, will now find that he must pay nearly two thirds more. This is but a single proof, out of many, that might be adduced, of the uncertain and arbitrary mode of imposing this tax. I am acquainted with some instances of lands being taken within the last 25 years at from 12 to 18s. an acre by improving tenants, who now pay for their wheat and potatoes a tithe equal to their rent.

therein mentioned, to recover compensation for tithes of 1786 and 1787.—Let an average be struck from such returns, which average must be highly favourable to the clergy, in as much as the scarcity existing in the years 1799 and 1800, forced the country into an increase of tillage theretofore unprecedented, and gave a stimulus to agriculture, the influence of which is yet largely experienced; therefore, there can be no question, that an average struck from the produce of the last 3 or 7 years (as may be deemed most just) would be highly beneficial to the clergyman and impropiator (1). What the annual amount of the tithe of Ireland is, I am not prepared to say.—Doctor Duigenan in a pamphlet published by him states, that the clergy on the protestant establishment do not exceed 1300—and that their whole revenues equally divided amongst them would not produce to each £.150 per annum, from whence it would appear, that the revenues of the parochial clergy of Ireland (including about 20,000 acres of glebe) produce not more than 195,000 per annum (2); however, the learned Doctor wishing to excite a feeling of commiseration for the then distressed state of the clergy, probably considered the plea of poverty the best mode of effecting his object. The more received opinion is, that the annual produce of the tithe (independent of glebes) on an average of the last seven years, would be about £500,000 : $\frac{1}{3}$ d being the property of lay impropiators: this deducted, leaves the tithe payable to the church in round numbers about £330,000 per annum.

I shall hereafter consider what the probable number of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Clergy may be, and what sum would in all likelihood be adequate to their comfortable support. At present I shall estimate that sum at £.800,000 per annum.—The grounds of this estimate shall be stated in a subsequent part of the chapter.

It now comes to be considered by what modification or commutation of the present tithe system, so large a sum as £800,000 per annum can be raised, so that such modification shall at the

(1) The demand consequent upon the late uninterrupted state of warfare has contributed also, under the peculiar circumstances of this country, to give an additional spur to the plough.

(2) In his speech on the 18th of March 1791, on the bill for encouraging the reclaiming of barren lands, the Doctor states the parochial clergy of Ireland to be but 800; 100 of whom had livings of 300l. a year, and all the rest were below 200l. a year—Vide Par. debates—vol. II. p. 338.

the same time accord with Smith's four maxims. Land, being the fund from which this tax has been and must *ever* be derived, the extent and value of the land of Ireland must therefore be fully and fairly ascertained before such tax can be imposed upon it, as will be agreeable to these maxims.

Sir William Petty in his political anatomy page 1. states the acreable contents of Ireland, plantation measure, to be

	10,500,000
High-ways, rivers, loughs, impassable bogs, rocks, and shrubs,	1,500,000
Very coarse land commonly called unprofitable	1,500,000
Good meadow, arable and pasture	7,500,000
	10,500,000

More modern surveyors, living in times of tranquillity, unembarrassed by impassable bogs and extensive woods, advantages which Sir William Petty did not possess, have ascertained that he underrated the number of acres in Ireland: these are now admitted to amount to upwards of *twelve* millions: and as impassable or rather unprofitable bogs, as well as shrubs, have in a great degree ceased to exist, the following I trust will be found a tolerably just estimate of the contents of Ireland, in case a national survey and valuation shall ever be made for the purposes, and on the principles herein after suggested.

	Acres
Rivers and loughs not surveyed on tenants, irreclaimable bogs and rocks	500,000
Coarse land at present waste and unprofitable, but capable of being reclaimed and made profitable	2,500,000
Profitable land (including roads and rivers surveyed on tenant and for which he is charged rent)	9,000,000
	12,000,000

Mr. Young, calculated the rental of Ireland in 1778 at six millions, *subject to tithe and tax*, since which time lands in general have doubled, in a great number of instances tripled, and in many cases within my own knowledge even quadrupled; besides in his day the powerful effects of lime on our mountains

mountains had not been fully ascertained, so that there are now many thousand acres, worth from 20 to 50 shillings per acre, which in his time would not bring 2s. 6d; neither does he take into his calculation the ground rent of the different cities, towns, and boroughs, of the kingdom, which must amount to a very large sum; there is therefore every reason for concluding that the nine millions of acres of profitable land, if now out of lease and *discharged of tithe and other tax*, would set at a very reasonable and moderate valuation for £15,000,000, per annum: consequently if £800,000 (the provision necessary for the support of all the clergy in Ireland and for lay impropriators) be charged thereon, it will only amount to about 13d. in the pound or 1s. 9d. an acre. a sum scarcely exceeding that usually paid for county charges, and much less oppressive, as being imposed on juster principles than county cess is at present, which in violation of Smith's 1st. maxim is cessed at so much per acre, be it rich or poor, instead of being rated according to the value of such acre: but Grand Juries were unable to impose the cess on the latter and juster principle from the want of a survey and valuation, such as hereafter suggested: should such be ever made and adopted, the tenant would thereby be doubly relieved from the obnoxious and oppressive part of *cess* as well as of *tithe*.

In order to adhere to Smith's 1st maxim in the imposing of this tax, a just and accurate survey and valuation of all the lands in Ireland must be previously made.

The doomsday book furnishes a precedent of a much more minute and difficult survey and valuation of the greatest part of England made in the time of the Conqueror, than that now recommended (1): in the Down survey we have a positive proof

(1) This important record, now remaining at the Chapter House Westminster, was begun by order of William the Conqueror with the advice of his parliament in the year 1080 and completed in 1086. The minuteness of the detail is very remarkable—it embraces the following heads:—How many hides or carrucates the land is gelded or taxed at, whose it was at the time of King Edward the Confessor: who the present owner and subtenants, what and how much arable, meadow, pasture, and wood, how much in demesne, how much in tenancy, what number of ploughs it will keep, what mills and fishings, how many freemen, sockmen, colilisti, cotarii, bordarii, radmanni, villains, maid-servants

proof of what one individual was able to effect under every disadvantage that can well be conceived (1); in Cromwell's and Charles the 2d's time commissions have at different periods been issued to ascertain certain contributions intended to have been levied according to valuations then to be made: and in the dominions of the King of Prussia and other kingdoms and states on the Continent, the land tax is assessed according to an actual survey and valuation, which is reviewed and altered from time to time.

To

vants, and bondsmen there are. *In some counties*, what young cattle, sheep, working horses &c. are upon the land, and how many hogs the woods would support. Sometimes, how many churches, priests, or parsons, what customary rents and services are to be paid and rendered out of lands. What had been added to the manor, what was withheld from it and by whom, what land waste, what the whole was let for in the time of King Edward, what the net rent, whether too dear or whether it might be improved. Commissioners were sent into every county and juries summoned and impanelled in each hundred out of all orders of freemen, from barons down to the lowest farmers, to give in upon oath to the commissioners, by verdict or presentment, due information for the faithful and impartial execution of it. These inquisitions being taken were sent up to Winchester and the substance of them afterwards methodized and formed into doomsday book.

The views which the Conqueror had in making this survey are variously stated, but the probable ones were to enable him to impose his taxes with equality and ascertain the strength and resources of his empire. It does not appear that any injustice was complained of in the execution of this great and difficult work, though the commissioners were generally Norman.

(1) This survey was made by Dr. afterwards Sir William Petty, and is so called from being *laid down* with chain and instrument to distinguish it from the civil estimate surveys made by the civil power by commission issued in 1642 and founded upon the estimation or repute of the country: it embraces about 5,500,000 acres actually surveyed by Sir William himself in the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster: he likewise collected surveys made by other persons of many parts not surveyed by him, but for the accuracy of which he does not vouch, and besides those maps of every parish, which by his agreement he delivered into the surveyor general's office, he at his own expence caused distinct maps to be made of every barony, county and province, and also of the whole kingdom; his county maps though expressly stated by himself to be imperfect and erroneous, in many instances (for want of better) govern grand juries in applotting county cess.—Such a circumstance alone demands a National Survey accurately executed.

To such valuation it will be objected, that how equal soever it may be at first, it must in the course of time become unequal and that to prevent its becoming so, would require continued and laborious attention to all the variations in the state and produce of every different farm in the country. To this it may be replied that the governments, of Bohemia, Sardinia, and Dutchy of Milan did actually exert an attention of this kind, and under the proposed system such an attention might with little labour be effectually exercised to such a degree as would in any instance prevent its becoming oppressive to the subject: this however could only occur in cases where lands *fall under* their present value, a circumstance scarcely to be expected, unless where there is gross neglect of cultivation and great want of industry: but even admitting that time may produce some inequality, still as the tax to be imposed after such a valuation will be *fixed, certain and unchangeable*, it cannot well be complained of, for as Smith says “a considerable degree of *inequality* is not near so great an evil, as a small degree of *uncertainty*”.

To facilitate such survey and valuation and to insure their being made upon the justest principles, it is proposed that in each county there shall be a committee formed to consist of the archbishop or bishop residing in such county, of the custos rotulorum, representatives in Parliament, assistant barrister, magistrates, one member from every body corporate, who shall have lands in such county, and every gentleman who had ever served the office of high sheriff, or at any time of his life been a grand juror: these qualifications will embrace the greatest part of the property and respectability of each county—and will consequently embrace the persons most interested in such survey and most likely to act with uprightness and impartiality. Such committee to be summoned by the sheriff, to assemble at the grand jury room, eleven to constitute a quorum, the custos rotulorum or senior magistrate then present to be chairman, the clerk of the peace to act as secretary.—Such committee and secretary to be sworn to execute the trust reposed in them to the best of their skill and judgment and without favor, partiality or affection (1).

The

(1). Such committee to have power to elect any persons, not exceeding six in number, who though not possessed of the qualifications aforesaid,

The duty of such committee to consist in obtaining a just and accurate survey and valuation of their county, WHICH SHALL SET FORTH the situation, extent and climate of the county: its DIVISIONS, baronies, parishes, unions of parishes (1) the situation and contiguity of such unions, glebe lands, town lands, plough lands, farms with subdivisions into fields or closes, the quantity of arable, pasture, and mea^{ow} therein: WHAT such glebe lands, farms or cottiers gardens (2), would respectively let for, if then to be set to a solvent tenant
tithe

said, may be deemed from other considerations useful members of the committee. The formation of such committee and the duties imposed upon it will necessarily force its members into the investigation and consideration of subjects, which notwithstanding their vital importance have been too much neglected by them; in fact our country gentlemen too universally give up their time before dinner to their stables, kennels and the sports of the field, and after dinner, whilst the bottle, circulates the conversation is in general solely occupied by these topics interspersed with anecdotes, not much calculated to improve their morals or their understanding.

(1) The inequality and great irregularity of parishes have so long been obvious and are so inconvenient, that it is a matter of surprise no new distribution of them has yet been adjusted. In 1735 an imperfect attempt of this kind was made by Primate Boulter, who states that "in several parts of this kingdom our parishes are very large, and run to a great length with no proportionable breadth, so that we find it would be very convenient to divide many parishes and to erect new ones out of parts, it may be, of two or three parishes: and to this purpose we have an act for the real union and division of parishes. But upon considering that bill it is found that where a new parish is formed out of the parts of two or three old ones, there can be no presentation to such new parish, till all those old parishes become void, which may possibly require a course of many years." This or any other similar bill was at that time objectionable, because such alterations went to the reduction of the value of the neighbouring livings, as it amended the form of the old parishes by the institution of new ones. None of these objections apply in case the modification proposed be acceded to, for after that takes place the rector receives his income independent of the extent of his parish or the amount of its tithes; it is therefore suggested that a new partition of the kingdom into parishes of a convenient size and form should be made, as such partition would serve purposes the most desirable. The necessity of such a general partition is confessed by the immense number of acts passed for *creating, uniting and dividing* the present ill-proportioned parochial divisions.—Any general partition must however be imperfect and inefficient, until the proposed survey shall have disclosed the relative extent, figure and population of each parish.

(2) As these gardens are always let at rack-rents, it is proposed that the tax of tithe and county cess of such lands shall be paid by the landlords, so as to relieve the peasant altogether from taxes, to him so oppressive.

tithe free, what the present rent payable by the occupying tenant: WHAT farms have been let as tithe free, and what farms (if any) have been uniformly engaged in the grazing of dry and barren cattle (1), and whether same could not be more profitably engaged in tillage: WHAT rent payable to the head landlord and if any middlemen, what the amount of their respective profit rents arising out of such tithe-free and grazing farms: WHAT landlords resident and what absent for six months—what members of Parliament more than eight months in the year out of Ireland: AMOUNT of rent payable to such absentees: AMOUNT of tithe, taxes or cesses respectively paid by each tenant for the last three years, as far as same can be ascertained: QUANTITY of commonage, its present value to persons entitled thereto, what sum would enclose same and what rent would same set for allowing tenant to hold same for the first three years rent and tax free (2): QUANTITY of bog, mountain and waste ground, possibility and means of improving it, obstacles to it, and best mode of removing same, and whether seven years be too short a period to be free from tithe and tax (3): NATURE of
K manures

(1) Such lands being in general some of the richest in the kingdom, the proposed tax would probably fall heavy thereon, and would be the more oppressive as the tenant in taking his lease did not calculate upon it, and *therefore* if taken since 1800 it should fall on the head landlord and middlemen (if any), to be paid proportionably to the profit they respectively derive therefrom, as it must be admitted that such landlords have too long reaped the benefit of the unjust vote of agistment. Lands have risen so much since 1800 and the graziers are so wealthy a body, that such as hold under leases taken previous to 1800, will be well able to bear a share of the tax if deemed necessary.—These graziers are, generally, speaking, catholics and some of the richest in the kingdom, and though the measure may press heavily upon them, they will not be found hostile to it as affording a suitable establishment to their own clergy and ultimately providing for the younger branches of their families, as in such a case one son at least would in general be educated for the church, a profession at present too much slighted by the richer Catholics of the kingdom.—The tax upon lands *tithe free* should be assessed in a similar manner.

(2) Such parts as have been taken in (and there have been many) without bills of enclosure, to be particularized.

(3) All barren heath and waste, which on that account never paid tithe, if improved into arable, pasture or meadow, to be exempt for seven years or longer if necessary from the tax hereafter proposed.—Persons claiming such exemption to give notice to the clerk of the peace of the *time* they shall begin to reclaim, and of the quantity and situation of waste: such notice
to

manures and fences, plantations and what tracts would be most profitably employed in such, whether any further encouragement than at present exists be necessary for their encrease, and particularly for the preservation of the trees when planted (1); MINES, whether worked with capital and spirit, if not, what capital would be necessary: CHURCHES, chapels and glebe houses: TURNPIKE and county roads, mills, bridges, navigable rivers, and canals (2); INNS, accommodation and means of travelling (3): WHERE all or any such would be useful and practicable

to be accompanied with a map verified upon oath: same to be lodged by the clerk of the peace among the records of the county:—The encrease of fund arising from such waste lands, when same shall be chargeable with tax, to be applied either to the alleviation of that tax where same may become unequal and oppressive, or in aid and relief of county charges.

(1) Such waste lands, as are only adapted for planting, to be enclosed and planted by government for the use of the navy; Irish oak needs no commendation.

(2) England is now, perhaps not to her disadvantage, totally excluded from all continental connexions, and a portion of those immense sums which have yearly been expended in subsidies, may more usefully and beneficially be diverted to other purposes. Our canals, in preference to all other national objects demand the attention of the legislature, and the grant of a reasonable and efficient sum for their improvement and extension would at the present juncture operate most beneficially, both as a means of giving immediate employment, more or less permanent, to a redundant population, and of rendering our numberless mines and collieries of some value and our lands more productive, as the two former are too often not worked at all and the latter left unimproved from the want of water carriage. The harbour of Dublin too, in which so much wealth is engulfed and in which so many valuable lives are annually sacrificed, should ere this have experienced the parental superintendence of an Imperial Parliament, as some little compensation to that metropolis for the enactment of a measure so confessedly destructive to its prosperity. A late melancholy occurrence should at least suggest the propriety of stationing numerous life-boats along the coast —The simple value of the gallant soldiers lost on that occasion would be nearly equal to the formation of a pier at Dalkey which must have prevented that loss, and if erected would be the means of saving thousands yet unborn.

(3) Few things contribute more to the intercourse between man and man, and to the consequent eradication of his prejudices, than cheap and commodious means of travelling. The roads of Ireland are the *best*, the inns, post carriages and horses perhaps the *worst* in the world, and have been very justly made the subject of caricature. Should an injudicious tax, imposed on post carriages in the last session, be persevered in, it will however modified or reduced, produce this effect, that such a vehicle will not

ticable and do not exist: the OBSTACLES that prevent there being made and built, and probable expence: JAILS, prisons, houses

not hereafter be had in places, where a convenience of the kind is not only always desirable but often indispensable. In Ireland this evil cannot be left, as in England, to find its own remedy, because in Ireland the business of an inn-keeper, however profitable, is not held in repute, on which account men of low degree generally fill that station; if they fail of making money, they prove drunkards, and if they succeed in amassing a competence, they quit the business, usually leaving it to their head waiter, who, being without capital or credit, has to struggle through a thousand difficulties before he can be comfortable, in which case he shortly imitates the example of his predecessor, thus compelling the public to labour under the same permanent want of accommodation. I know of but one remedy for this evil, and which must be put in execution, unless we are willing to submit to the same inconveniencies for another century. The evil would in my mind most effectually be obviated by instituting four provincial companies, in whom shall be vested all the inns and post-carriages of the kingdom to be managed and conducted by agents after the manner the canal companies conduct their establishments, establishments which stand unrivalled by those of any other country. Such an undertaking would be most profitable to those concerned therein and most advantageous to the public. Then would we shortly see things on a very different footing from the present, then would we be as remarkable for the excellence, as we have hitherto been for the badness of our conveyances, then may travellers be induced to visit the exquisite scenery of our island and be convinced that it contains something more than "bog and mountain" and that its inhabitants were not altogether immersed in "ignorance and barbarism." See Critical review for January 1806, on Mr. Curran's speeches, and the Edinburgh review for April 1806 on Griffith's travels. An extract from the latter review I shall subjoin as a literary curiosity, and *partly* as a specimen of that nationality for which the Scotch are so remarkable and I will add, so praise worthy, and *partly* of that spirit of envious reflection on Ireland, to which they, in common with other reviewers, are so much addicted. "Some who are contented with an humble portion of itinerary fame record their delights and their dangers in an excursion to the Isle of Wight, or to the mountains of Wales: others *better* directed or more courageous explore the wilds of our *beloved* Scotland and risk their safety on the shores of the Hebrides, while others still more ambitious, cross the tempestuous channel, trust their persons to Hibernian post chaises and *wade* for pleasure or for glory through the *bogs* of Ireland.

Edinburgh rev. for April 1806, art. II.

These candid gentlemen have in all probability derived their knowledge of the country from that *very impartial* Welchman Geraldus Barry, who thus describes the island "that flows, in the language of the venerable Bede, with milk and honey." "The country is uneven, mountainous, soft, watry, woody, exposed to wind, and so *loggy* that you may see the water stagnating in the mountains."

houses of correction, of industry and hospitals(1): POPULATION : Protestant—Catholic—Presbyterian—Quaker, and other sects

(1) Much of that mismanagement complained of by the immortal Howard in the conduct of these different institutions has been remedied: much yet remains to be remedied. Instances are still too numerous in our prisons, where the health and morals of the inhabitants are miserably sacrificed to the defective arrangement of the building, where the petty offender and murderer thrown into the same dungeon are permitted to pass their time in card-playing and revelling, where the treatment of the criminal is regulated not so much by the magnitude of his crime, as by the strength of his purse. To correct this serious evil two things are necessary: 1st. prisons built upon such a scale and after such a plan, as will not only admit the distinction of several classes of prisoners, but also the separate confinement of each, when requisite: of such a prison a model worthy of general imitation may be seen in the gaol of the county Kilkenny, lately erected by Mr. Robertson.—It is in the second place absolutely requisite that the government of such a prison shall be placed in the hands of a man of integrity and vigour, such as I fear will scarcely be found to accept of the station, so long as the title of *gaoler*, a title too opprobrious for respectable men to encounter, shall be attached to the office. Let such officers be stiled governors, as is the case in the admirable institutions of Chester and Lancaster, or let them at all events receive some denomination different from the present, and let their salary be amply adequate to their station, and consequently in lieu of all fees.—We may then hope to see offenders classed according to the nature of their offence, compelled to conduct themselves with decency and sobriety and *above all things* to employ their time in productive labor, which may be made to support not only the individual, but perhaps ultimately the establishment, as is I believe the case in Philadelphia. Then may prisons be made to serve the purposes of houses of correction and of industry, where those who cannot otherwise obtain work may be employed, and those not disposed to labor may be compelled to industry. (Our statutes testify on many occasions the necessity of houses of correction, a thing not known in Ireland, although the punishment laid down for several offences is confinement in *such* a house, the offender “there to be kept to hard labour.” Such an offender is with us sent to learn habits of industry and of virtue among the felons of a gaol: it may truly be said that “the last state of that man is worse than the first.”) Then will prisons purify, not corrupt the morals of its inhabitants and often restore to society in perfect health members heretofore unsound. To this it may be objected that an house of industry is in our metropolis supported at an enormous expence and is notwithstanding inefficient, as in every street you are not the more secure against the *assaults* of sturdy and importunate beggars. Such undoubtedly is the fact: ’tis a defect however arising *not so much* or altogether from the establishment itself, as from the absurd mismanagement and unpardonable neglect of the police, and from the mistaken charity of the inhabitants of our city, who will believe without investigation and relieve to get rid of importunity. With the beg-

gars

sects.—Number of males and females and respective ages, whether married or not, their profession, trade or occupation; habitation, fuel, food and cloathing of the lower rank, their general cost and in what respect same may be improved (1): PAUPERS

gars of the metropolis, when reproached with their idle life and desired to take advantage of that asylum, complaints are *universally* prevalent that they have been in it, that they were half starved and otherwise ill-treated: the assertion is general and uniform: let it be investigated, and let the citizens be convinced either that there is ground for the complaint or that there is not: that in the former case it may be removed and that in the latter they may turn a deaf ear to the importunities of the idle and the vicious. Every citizen has a right to inspect every branch of the department, but unfortunately "what is every body's business is nobody's business:" let the citizens act collectively, and let twelve housekeepers in rotation, for each week, daily visit the house and inspect each department: 12 times 52 is but 624: there are at least 6000 respectable housekeepers in the metropolis, and to be called on *once* in *ten* years cannot for so great an object be deemed too troublesome. Animate and enliven the spirit of investigation, and men of activity and humanity will soon be found to lighten the labour of the reluctant and remedy the evil if it exists. Of what may be effected in this way the citizens may judge from the state and management of the Fever Hospital, of the Meath Street Dispensary and from the present condition of the Meath Hospital compared with what it had been at a period not very remote. Such a habit of inspection may most beneficially be extended to all the jails, prisons, hospitals and infirmaries of the kingdom. The latter are notoriously inefficient and too often a mere sinecure: let all patients who apply be relieved upon the recommendation of sickness and of poverty and not sent away for the recommendation of a governor: and above all let the presentment for the same be proportionate to and be only granted upon, the affidavit of the medical officers, setting forth the numbers actually relieved. In addition to all that has been here suggested it would be well if, after the example of Liverpool, Manchester &c. Committees were instituted for assisting in the prosecution of felons, who in this country frequently escape through fear of the expence on the part of the prosecutor.

(1) No one circumstance reflects more discredit on the landlords of this country than their total indifference to the situation and comforts of their tenantry, the great mass of whom are in most respects, worse circumstanced than the poorest peasant in England. "Whoever travels this country, says Swift, and observes the face of nature or the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think themselves in a land, where law, religion or common humanity is professed." The reproach has still too much foundation, for the habitation of the man who farms 100 acres is scarcely to be distinguished from that of the farmer of 10, being alike mean and wretched and constructed in a manner the most inimical to health and cleanliness. With floors sunk below the level of the surrounding soil, fire-places
calculated

PERS—old, infirm, blind, ideots and lunatics, means and establishments for their support: HABITATIONS of every description

calculated to afford the least possible heat, the chimney-corner being the only spot that could be deemed comfortable, with windows scarcely meriting the name, at night and in cold weather filled with straw or rags, in summer admitting noisome stench from the adjoining dung-holes and in spring blocked up by immense heaps of manure. Still worse if possible is the miserable cottiers habitation—a mere shell formed of mud and soda, “without loft, apartment, or partition:” a cavern under ground, “without doors, chimney, or window:” a heap of dung *without* to supply him with the potatoe the only means of his subsistence, and a pig *within*, (no unsuitable inmate), to assist him in the payment of his rent and for that purpose feeding from the same board with himself and his children and taking his share as readily as the wife: *his bed* the cold earth, separated from him by a truss of straw; his body protected against the chilling blasts of winter by a coarse rug, together with the rags which covered it in the day time.—“*Quis talia fando, temperet a lacrymis.*”—What foreigner that sees such things in one of the most fertile countries in the world, but must conclude either that the landlords are cruel, inhuman and oppressive or that the people are composed of a race so dull and stupid as to be incapable of instruction, so brutishly disposed, so averse to improvement, so insensible of kindness, as to resist every effort made to ameliorate their condition. But is this the character of the people or a just representation of its landed proprietors? Not so: the peasant and the Irish farmer are alive to the keenest sensations of pleasure and pain, are possessed of a quick intellect, a knowledge superior to their condition, and a capacity like other men to distinguish between good and evil: these qualities united with great generosity of disposition fit them for instruction, present the fairest field for improvement and promise the speedy removal of defects originating in necessity and continued partly through inability and partly through habit. *As for the landlords*, the middleman is *oppressive*, the landed proprietor is *inattentive* to his tenantry: and so entirely does he overlook what passes daily, nay hourly, before his eyes, as to be surprisingly “ignorant of the state and condition of the poor, even in his own neighbourhood; many a question, says Young, have I put to gentlemen upon these points, which were not answered without having recourse to the next cabin:” and though the squalid persons, filthy habitations, misery and consequent inebriety of the tenant be owing to the landlord, yet will the latter curse him for his filth, damn him for his indolence, and abuse him for his drunkenness, the only comforter of his misery. The relaxation of the penal laws and the bounties on corn by diminishing the number of middlemen and encreasing the agriculture of the country, have given rise to a respectable yomanry, a class of men not known in Ireland till within these few years, who from bad habits have made no improvement in their comforts proportionate to the improvement of their properties. With the landlord it lies to eradicate the bad habits of this class and to remove the disabilities of the peasant: the difficulty is not so great as is generally supposed, for the Irish landlord possesses an unbounded influence over his
tenant.

tenant, an influence equal to still greater undertakings: "the power and influence of a resident landlord, says Young, is so great in Ireland, that whatever system he adopts, be it well or ill imagined, he is much more able to introduce and accomplish, than Englishmen can well have an idea of," and the Irish farmer is master of the art of overcoming difficulties to an uncommon degree: "travellers, adds Young, who take a superficial view of them are apt to think their poverty and wretchedness, viewed in the light of farmers, greater than they are. Give the farmer of 20 acres in England no more capital than his brother in Ireland, and I will venture to say he will be much poorer, for he would be utterly unable *to go on at all*," whereas the Irish farmer by taking partners and "by means of living in the very poorest manner, and converting every pig, fowl and even egg into cash, will make up his rent and get by very slow degrees into somewhat better circumstances." Where there is so much influence on one part and so much patience and contrivance on the other, we should never despair of making the natives of the country the means of encreasing their own happiness: were the poor Irish treated, as the Palatines of old were, they would prove far more profitable: these had houses built for them: plots of land assigned to each at a rent of favour, assisted in stock, and all of them with leases for lives *from the head landlord*. Did each landlord act thus to his Irish tenantry, he would find his profit immense, and they would in the course of a lease pay a high rent with greater ease to themselves, than at present they yield a low one.—The object *more immediately* under our consideration, that of affording them comfortable habitations may be effected after the following manner, if the desire of seeing them comfortable exists on the part of the landlord, for independent of him, through inability and the force of bad habits, they would for ages remain strangers to cleanliness and neatness of every description, and the landlords of the country would so long be disgraced by the miserable hovels of their tenantry, the wretchedness of which presents the more glaring contrast to the magnificence of their own mansions. Let the houses of the farmers and peasantry be without any exception all built by the landlord upon plans drawn by the most eminent architects, whose object shall be economy and neatness: the sum expended need not in any case exceed £200: a sum fully adequate to the erection of the neatest farm house independent of offices. Let the landlord charge the tenant an additional rent of 10 per cent, upon the money so expended: the per centage to be abated on condition the tenant shall keep the house and improvements in repair, &c. for example, suppose A. sets a farm of 50 acres to B. at £2 an acre, making an annual lump rent of £100, and suppose the sum of £100 would erect a comfortable dwelling for such sized farm (as it certainly would), then A reserves in the body of the lease an unqualified lump rent of £110 per annum with the covenants of distress &c. the lease at the same time to contain a proviso that in case B. shall expend in the erection of out offices and farm-yard according to a given plan a sum of £50: shall keep the dwelling house and offices in perfect repair (to be ascertained once a year by the affidavit of a plasterer or mason, who shall for the purpose examine them), shall preserve the trees and shall keep the gates and fences in good condition (to be ascertained by the examination of the

the landlord's agent), that then instead of a rent of £110 per annum, he shall be liable to pay £100 only. The expence of cottages would be most insignificant, they are at present built of the cheapest and best material: it is warm in winter and cool in summer: white-wash inside and outside will at the most trifling cost keep them both neat and healthy: the essential point is that they shall be erected after one uniform and approved plan, having a pig-stye and dung hole so situate as not to offend; this regulation ought to extend to the suburbs of most of the towns in this country, where to the disgrace of the magistracy, such filth reigns as to fill passengers with disgust and not unfrequently to engender or promote contagious and destructive diseases — The remedy thus proposed is simple, the expence inconsiderable and the success unquestionable, it ensures the erection of commodious dwellings and what is equally material their subsequent preservation. At present the tenant knows his landlord as a man only desirous of exacting the highest rent he can obtain, and as an individual totally indifferent to his comforts: in the adoption of the proposed measure he would see him disposed to make some sacrifice in his favour and to take a little interest in his welfare: gratitude and interest will in this case combine in stimulating him to comply with the wishes of his landlord. A reformation in the interior of the household would quickly follow, and might be greatly expedited by visits from the landlord or agent and by a prudent and well-timed use of praise and dispraise, as may be merited. — Fuel the only thing that now remains to be mentioned here, is an article which with the poor, except in the *immediate* vicinage of some few collieries and of bogs, consists entirely of wood and *borhauns*: the poor must eat in order to live, they must dress their food in order to eat, they must have fires to dress their food, and to have fires, must be supplied with fuel of one description or other: hence such of the poor as live not in the neighbourhood of collieries and bogs (and these latter it must be remembered are not to be found every where) or are not able to purchase other fuel, are through necessity compelled to steal their neighbours timber and even to cut down their landlords paling and plantations: hence arises the difficulty, nay the impossibility of preserving the latter in certain districts: a difficulty that will never be overcome till our collieries are worked upon a more extensive scale: it is not to *Acts of Parliament* therefore but to *mining companies* that landed gentlemen should look for protection — If gentlemen then wish to adopt the surest method for preserving their trees, they will give every possible encouragement to mining and canal companies, for without the latter the former will never succeed: and though many past attempts to the great discouragement of all future ones, have failed either through the ignorance of the possessors of the mines, want of capacity in the undertakers, and negligence or rather roguery of the miners, yet may all these very effectually be obviated by adopting the mine laws of Germany, Hungary and Poland: those of Derby-shire are much better framed than ours, though not so beneficial as the laws of those great mining countries. Should our coal mines by these or other means be worked and our canals duly extended, then might the landlords most effectually protect their timber, by establishing in every town and village of the kingdom public coal yards, from whence they shall distribute fuel to the poor at *prime cost* with the superaddition of the necessary charges of distribution. Landlords have been long empowered by lease to call upon their tenants to draw home their turf
coal

cription beyond the lower rank (1)—value thereof in cities, towns and boroughs—number of windows, hearths, and servants (2): HORSES employed in pleasure and in business (such latter returns to be made to the committee on oath by hearth money collectors:)—NUMBER of distilleries and breweries—licenced ale and whiskey houses—this return to be made by surveyors on oath: USE OF BEER AND SPIRITS—whether either and which is encreasing—best means of encouraging the use of the former and repressing the latter.—Result of strict enquiry with respect to private distilleries and unlicenced ale houses (3): EDUCATION
 L —schools

coal, &c. let the landlords resign this right in favour of the poor and instead of drawing for the use of those who do not stand in need of such assistance, let them call on their tenantry to do that by which those who are in want will be benefited.—In this case, *even* as things stand at present, such a scheme might be executed on a small scale: in the metropolis and other corporate towns and cities, of the kingdom such coal yards ought long since have been established, and might still, had not the corporations of these places involved themselves in debt by *charitable* behests and leases to their individual members, and by other gross misapplications of their extensive revenues.

(1) Society for bettering the condition of the poor to be established in each town, and a general one for each province. In modifying the tithe system, the claims of the poor should not be forgotten: In England they have been admitted to an extent exceedingly oppressive: let the landlord of Ireland then recollect that he labours not under the grievous burden of poor rates, and that he may continue free from them for ever, if he but pay some little attention to the situation of the poor, and warmly assist in the promotion and execution of such measures as may be devised for their comfort and support. It is much to be lamented, that our statutes too often are suffered to remain in the dust, without being acted upon: 11th and 12th of his present Majesty contain many useful regulations: the 36th of the same for the encouragement of friendly societies contains several beneficial enactments; and there can be no question but a code of regulations might be adopted, which would preserve the industrious and helpless from want, and prevent the sturdy beggar from marauding on every passenger, and by their number and squalid appearance exciting in the mind of the spectator very unfavourable ideas of the humanity of the country. This subject, which in itself so loudly demands the attention of the legislature, may perhaps be treated of hereafter on a larger and more extended scale.

(2) The comfortable farmers, who are now numerous and well able to pay, exempt themselves from hearth and window tax by nature of the habitations in which they reside: such persons should be taxed in proportion to the *extent* and *value* of their farms, and not to the *comforts* of their habitation.

(3) There is no one abuse that calls more loudly for correction than the, gross and avowed corruption existing with very few exceptions amongst the officers

—schools and charitable institutions—funds for that purpose arising from public and private grants and donations; into whose hands same have come and how applied: **USE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE**, whether general, and if not, whether encreasing: **HABITS OF INDUSTRY** or want of industry amongst the people—causes thereof, and by what means a spirit of industry would be best excited: **AGRICULTURE**—the best means of promoting and improving it (1): **MANUFACTURES**—whether encreasing—
of

officers of the revenue, and by which the revenues of the state are most shamefully dissipated—how does it happen that a surveyor with a nominal salary of £ 60 per annum, without any other property than that acquired by perquisite, contrives to spend £ 1000 and a gauger half that sum with a salary of only £ 40 a year—I have heard an instance of a surveyor and his gaugers carrying their barefaced extravagance to such a length as to purchase a pack of hounds, horses, &c. &c. and to enjoy the expensive amusement of hunting three times a week—how immensely must the distiller, maltster, tanner, &c. defraud the public revenue to enable them to bribe to an extent sufficient to support such monstrous extravagance. The source of this corruption may obviously be traced to the mistaken œconomy of the revenue in granting to its officers salaries totally inadequate to their support, and recognising the payment of fees or more properly speaking, of bribes. To check so serious an evil and to arouse the attention of the gentry of Ireland to a just consideration of its magnitude is the reason for obliging the revenue officers to make their returns to a county committee: but before an effectual remedy can be obtained, it will be first necessary to eradicate a feeling but too prevalent amongst every class of persons in this country, that it is neither disgraceful nor criminal to defraud the revenue.—Let the people be taught that so doing is a gross fraud, as by it every honest man in society who fairly contributes, is injured, and let the offence be stigmatized as it deserves. Let the great and important trust of collecting the revenue be committed to those only, who by their industry, knowledge and integrity shall prove themselves qualified for its faithful discharge: and as a college has been found necessary for the education of military officers, so would a college for the education of revenue officers be found highly beneficial—after receiving a strictly moral and useful education let them be appointed to office with a salary fully adequate to their support in a respectable situation without compelling them to suffer the revenue to be defrauded, or still worse to resort to peculation and robbery to save themselves from starving---The lower officers of the post office department present a melancholy example of men placed in this latter situation.

(1) Agriculture, that imperishable source of the strength and wealth of a country would be in Ireland much benefited and improved by the foundation of an agricultural college in the county of Meath or some other central county, where youth intended for the profession of a farmer might be instructed in the science and practice of farming. The fund out of which the Presbyterian clergy are at present paid and which by the adoption of the proposed plan will be at the disposal of government, would be more than sufficient for the foundation of this great national institution.---The formation of agricultural and farming societies ought to receive every encouragement---one at least should be established in each county.

of encouragement to them and peculiar aptness of any and what situation for their extension: PRICE of wages, labor and provisions (1): FISHERIES:—CIRCULATION of money or paper (2): WEIGHTS and measures, liquid and dry.—In what instances
L 2 are

(1) Vide precedent in the agricultural survey vol. 5 p. 1.

(2) The paper currency of Ireland is a subject of the first magnitude and deserving of the minutest investigation: to treat it, as it deserves, would occupy more space than the nature of this work will admit; it is here merely noticed as a matter, in which the great mass of the people are deeply interested, and which, with other grievances affecting them, has been too long neglected.---The banking system, if supported by *real* capital and unconnected with other business is a means of promoting trade of some moment, but when connected with other business, it seldom fails to be attended with consequences the most injurious to the fair trader and to the public at large. For several years previous to 1755, bankers having engaged in commercial speculations, had circulated paper to an amount not only far exceeding their own capitals, but that just proportion, which the quantity of paper ought to bear to the national specie. Men without property became large merchant importers and embarked in other speculations, which while they increased the receipts of the treasury, lessened the wealth of the kingdom, and ultimately led to their failure. In 54 and 55 three principal banks failed, and produced evils so alarming as to call upon the legislature to interfere for the prevention of such serious mischief in future in the 29th George II. the following law was accordingly enacted: " that no person or persons, who do or shall carry on the business of a banker or bankers shall from and after the 1st day of July 1757 either singly or in partnership with any other, so long as he or they shall continue to be a banker, or bankers, trade or traffic as *merchants* in goods or merchandize imported or exported: and if any banker shall offend herein, he shall forfeit the sum of £1000 " The efficacy of this law was experienced for a long series of years, but who, that reflects on the description of men, by whom the banking business of Ireland has been carried on for the last ten years, would now suppose that it remained unrepealed on our statute book. An order of council made in March 1797 for restraining the issue of specie from the bank and afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament, laid the foundation for that multiplicity of banks which have since proved so injurious to the country: the moment the bank was restricted in the issue of specie, paper became of course the currency of the whole Island, with the exception of the North, which exception was owing to the revolutionary schemes of the united Irishmen: the expectation of a change and the subsequent rebellion induced every one of sufficient ability in the South to hoard up what cash they could collect, and the specie remaining in circulation was confined to the North: the people thus habituated to the receipt of paper in lieu of cash and the great mass of them ignorant of the relative value of the notes in circulation, were easily made the prey of some adventurous speculating traders, who finding it difficult to carry on their business, for want of capital, took advantage of these circumstances, and as the easiest mode of overcoming their difficulties commenced banking, and in order to force their paper
into

are weights assigned for measures or vice versa—the weight or measure

into circulation, they gave a higher price than others could afford for whatever merchandize they purchased, to the injury of the fair trader, the general distress of the nation, the certainty of their own failure and the destruction of public credit. Another evil however of no small magnitude accompanied this system of universal banking: forgeries multiplied to an extraordinary degree, and these from the innumerable hordes of bankers it was impossible to distinguish: the fairs, the resort of every farmer in the kingdom, afforded the most favourable opportunities for their circulation, nor was any remedy applied to the evil until, the tenantry having been nearly ruined, the landlords found it necessary to interfere in their own defence and to seek redress from the legislature: a bill was accordingly passed in 1799, which for some time gave a check to the evil; speculators however were still found adventurous and ingenious enough to evade every clause of this and other acts, and so indefatigable were they in promoting their system, that they omitted no opportunity or means of collecting all the silver of the kingdom and transporting it to England, for the purpose of destroying every circulating medium but paper and thereby compelling the people to receive their small notes in payment, wherewith they soon inundated the whole country: it may perhaps surprise many to learn that notes passed frequently for *six-pence*, and in some places even for *two pence*: This evil was not remedied till our present chancellor of the exchequer gave to the kingdom an abundant and convenient silver coinage which after a long struggle at length put to flight that abominable and disgraceful substitute. The rage for banking was carried to such a monstrous extent that a single county in Leinster, possessed of inconsiderable trade, witnessed at one and the same time about half a score banks, not one of which is *at present* in existence. It is notorious that one of these speculators, who after running the race of a banker and bankrupt, had *as a matter of course* obtained his certificate, again opened bank on fresh ground, not 50 miles distant from his former scene of action, was again credited by the simple farmer and peasant of the neighbourhood, who totally ignorant of his past exploits, knew not, but by fatal experience, the difference between national paper and the notes of a *fisherman* or *black-smith*. This gentleman a second time failed and so soon as he shall be a second time certified, it is probable, he may be considered a man of undoubted stability and qualified to commence a new career in the metropolis, where to give the public a proof of the strength of his capital he will perhaps issue nothing but *national paper*. “I have often wished, says Swift, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.” The statements already made, together with some *later* occurrences, might tend to convince us that Swift was not so much mistaken in the policy here recommended. Some vigorous remedy, some example of severe justice is unquestionably necessary until the *banking system* be duly restrained, and the *bankrupt code* be essentially amended. While the country was yet smarting under a recent extensive failure, Sir John Newport, whose constant regard for the interests of his country and humane attention to the poor during the whole period of his administration reflects the highest lustre on his name, intimated his intention

measure by which grain, flour, potatoes and butter are sold (3).

Committee

intention of bringing in a bill to guard against the recurrence of similar mischiefs, and only deferred it till public credit should have recovered from the violent shock it then sustained: a question of *far less moment* to the poor of Ireland led to his retirement from office, and thereby prevented the execution of so laudable a design. As the storm of political contention has now in some degree subsided, it is to be hoped that either the late or present chancellor of the exchequer, men so fully adequate to the undertaking, possessed of every necessary information and both equally alive to the interests of their country, will ere long devise means for preventing evils of such serious magnitude. The remedy is obvious from the precedent established in the foundation of the bank of Ireland; let no man be licenced as a banker, who has not first lodged in the treasury 5 per cent debentures to the amount of £20,000 at least, there to remain as a security to the public, or if possessed of landed property in fee simple to the value of £30,000 above all incumbrances, then let him execute to the crown a recognizance, conditioned for the fulfilment of all his engagements as a banker. The act of the 29th of George the II. being most shamefully evaded by bankers trading as merchants in the name of trustees, it becomes indispensable that every banker shall, before obtaining his license, make oath that neither he *nor any in trust for him* was then engaged in any trade or business, and that so long as he continued a banker, neither he *nor any person in trust for him* should carry on any trade or business, banking excepted: or it might be enacted, that any banker who should in any shape be concerned in any other business but banking, should either forfeit the £20,000 in the treasury or his recognizance as the case might be.—In correcting the serious evils of our banking system, it is to be hoped that the glaring and monstrous defects of our bankrupt laws will not be overlooked, for it must be admitted that there is no one branch of the administration of justice, of the *expensive* and *inefficient* nature of which the subject is so justified in complaining as of that code. The memorial, presented by the chamber of commerce to the late Lord Chancellor, details with considerable accuracy and much moderation the imperfections of that system. What can be more impolitic and indiscriminating than that the excellent principle established paying the judges of the superior courts out of the exchequer should not be extended to the bankrupt commissioners: What class of his Majesty's subjects is there, whose situation calls so irresistibly for the *cheap* and *speedy* administration of justice, as the creditors of a bankrupt, whose property, instead of being swallowed up by commissioners, agents, messengers, &c. ought if possible be relieved from all charges, be protected and nursed with the utmost care and œconomy. Is not the system on the contrary founded on principles the worst calculated for procuring the *cheap* and *speedy* administration of justice? does it not attack human nature in its *weakest point*, and though neither executed at a cheap or speedy rate, does it not too generally prove inefficient, by being employed merely as the instrument of *white-washing* a friend, as it is *facetiously* termed, and not to the intent that a just and impartial division of his estate and effects should be made among his creditors?

Committee for the speedy execution of such survey and valuation to divide the county into divisions or districts of a convenient size, and to nominate a surveyor for each division, who shall upon oath accurately survey same in the most exact manner, as if employed by the landlords or tenants thereof, such landlords and tenants to be obliged to produce to the surveyor their most modern maps, which in general they all now have, as lands have become of so much value, that every perch is an object to the parties; such surveyor to follow and adhere to the instructions herein before given for the government of the county committee, as far as same shall fall within his province and his knowledge or judgment thereof shall extend (1). The county committee also to choose out of such of the landholders of the county, as they shall consider to be the most competent judges of the value of the lands thereof, a number corresponding with the divisions, one of these to be allotted to each of the persons so chosen, whom I shall hereafter distinguish by the name of *divisional valuers*; these shall be sworn to make a just and true valuation of their division according to the best of their judgment, skill and knowledge, not to be allowed to value their own lands, or those of their landlord, or their relations: such valuers to be fully instructed as to all the matters, upon which the county committee shall report, and consequently to collect carefully all authentic information relating to them—and to assist such divisional valuers the county committee to name two at most of the most competent judges in each parish or barony, who from their residence therein and farming part of the lands thereof, shall from experience be acquainted with

creditors? This system of *White-washing* is besides the great promoter if not the sole cause of that *wasteful, imprudent and ruinous* prodigality so general among the traders of our metropolis and of the kingdom at large, a prodigality that can never be sufficiently condemned, being as destructive to the prosperity of the country, as of the individuals themselves. The evil, *if we will*, is not difficult of cure.

(3) The outline of the heads of this enquiry accords to a considerable extent with the instructions given by the Dublin Society for the statistical surveys executed under their directions.

(1) Surveyors may be assisted by county maps, and would be much more so, if the provisions for the making of county maps contained in the Road Act passed in the 36th of his present Majesty, had been generally acted upon: this however is not the case.

with the quality of the lands of such parish or barony, to be also sworn to assist and truly advise the divisional valuator; to be distinguished by the name of *assistant valuator*. Divisional as well as assistant valutors to be attended by the surveyor of the division for the purpose of assisting them in calculations, and affixing to each farm the value laid thereon; to be obligatory on all landlords, agents of landlords and tenants to produce their maps or leases on demand to such divisional valutors and surveyors, in order that from such maps valutors may check return of surveyors; the leases will be useful auxiliaries in assisting them in their valuations; indeed all leases executed to the occupying tenant without fine since 1800 will in a great degree ascertain the value—each tenant to get a return of the valuation and survey thus made of his farm, and should he consider it unjust in any respect, the sheriff at his request and without fee or reward to impanel a jury to try the question, their verdict to be conclusive; such valuation to be made at the season of the year best calculated for judging of the value of land.

Though the ground on which cities, towns and boroughs stand, be not subject to the tax of tithe, still for the weighty reasons adduced by Smith (1), it is a species of property that ought to contribute

(1) Vol. 3 page 239. "Both ground rents and the ordinary rent of land, this writer observes, are a species of revenue, which the owner in many cases enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the state, no discouragement will be thereby given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground rents, and the ordinary rent of land, are therefore perhaps the species of revenue, which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them. Ground rents seem in this respect a more proper subject of peculiar taxation than even the ordinary rent of land. The ordinary rent of land is, in many cases, owing partly at least to the attention and good management of the landlord. A very heavy tax might discourage too much this attention and good management. Ground rents so far as they exceed the ordinary rent of land, are altogether owing to the good government of the sovereign, which, by protecting the industry either of the whole people or of the inhabitants of some particular place, enables them to pay so much more than its real value for the ground which they build their houses upon; or to make to its owner so much more than compensation for the loss which he might sustain by this use of it. Nothing can be more reasonable than that a fund, which owes its existence to the good government of the state, should be taxed peculiarly, or should contribute some thing more than the greater part of other funds towards the support of that government."

tribute to the execution of a measure, in which the general welfare of the state is so deeply interested; it is therefore proposed that the amount of the house rent of Ireland be also ascertained, distinguishing between the ground rent and builders rent: this can be effected by compelling the ground landlord and the occupying tenant to bring in and deposit their leases with the secretary of the committee, who from thence will at once be able to obtain the information required—occupying tenant to state upon oath whether he paid any and what fine, as sometimes fines, though paid, are omitted to be inserted in lease (1).

Valuators and surveyors having made their returns to the county committee—and committee having ascertained house rent and duly investigated the different other matters contained in their instructions, shall make their report, and return same with the documents to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who will thereby be enabled to ascertain the quantity of acres, rental and population, revenues and resources of the kingdom with a degree of accuracy, which otherwise could never be obtained (2). It might not be amiss to make it part of the oaths of the county committees, valuers and surveyors not to divulge the result of their enquiries further than respected each particular farm till authorized by government to do so.

A just valuation of all the lands of the kingdom being thus obtained a tax of so much per cent according to such valuation will accord with Doctor Smith's 1st maxim.

Let

(1) The principle of just and equal taxation is clearly violated by that provision of the act for assessing minister's money passed in 17th and 18th Charles 2nd, which enacts that if it shall appear by the valuation thereby directed to be made, that any house be valued at above £ 60 per annum, yet the commissioners are to return such house as worth but £ 60 per annum, though it may be worth £ 300 or possibly £ 500. As most other taxes are apportioned according to the amount of the minister's money, an unjust principle pervades the whole, which ought only be assessed according to the full rent payable by the occupying tenant, adding thereto £ 8 or £ 10 for every £ 100 that shall have been paid by way of fine.

(2) Such survey and valuation with due attention would be executed in a very short time, as it need only be necessary to have it known that the object of the enquiry was to effect a commutation of tithe and to provide for the clergy of all sects, to ensure the zealous support and co operation of every individual of every class and sect in forwarding such an undertaking.

Let it then be taken for granted that the sum of £800,000 per annum will upon investigation be found adequate to the support of the parochial clergy of the established church—of the Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian Clergy, and for compensating the lay impropietor: and let us suppose that the result of such valuation as aforesaid will prove the rental of the kingdom to be £15,000,000, *in that case* a tax of ~~eleven~~ pence in the pound only will be necessary to pay the above sum of £800,000 per annum (1): said sum to be raised under the warrant of the county treasurer, who shall assess same according to the valuation so made of his county, payable half yearly on every 24th of June and 24th of December, and to be collected by the barony collector, who shall raise the same with the county charges, such charges also in future to be governed by the value and not the quantity of the land. By such a system Doctor Smith's 2nd, 3rd and 4th maxims will be strictly adhered to—for as soon as the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall declare what sum in the pound will be necessary to be raised for the purposes aforesaid, each tenant can tell to a fraction what he will be bound to pay, and consequently will not be subjected to the extortion or tyranny of the tax-gatherer—The 24th of June and 24th of December being the days on which tenants in general prepare for their rent (2), it will of course be equally convenient for them to pay the tax; and in the collection of this tax *a single additional officer* will not be necessary. as the present county treasurer and baronial collectors will be fully adequate to the collection, management and disposition thereof, and the additional trouble thereby incurred being inconsiderable, the encrease to their present salaries would consequently be but trifling.

County treasurers to pay said sum of £800,000 per annum into his Majesty's Exchequer or into the offices of the collectors
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(1) If this provision be raised but by a *fixed and equal* tax, there is no sum in reason, which the people will not cheerfully pay—county cess, a tax possessing but one of these requisites, is yet submitted to without much murmuring, because though very *unequal*, it is no way *uncertain*.

(2) These are the usual days of payment where no running gale is allowed: an indulgence originating in want of capital and often equally pernicious to landlord and tenant, as encouraging the latter to undertakings for which he is inadequate and enabling the former to keep his tenant in slavish subjection.

of excise for the following purposes, viz. £500,000 thereof (1) (being the present supposed amount of the tithe of the kingdom) to be applied to the discharge of the interest of ten millions proposed to be borrowed on government debentures, bearing interest at 5 per cent: such sum of ten millions to be invested in trustees constituted of the persons now composing the board of first-fruits, and such other additional persons as may be deemed necessary—upon the following trusts—to pay in the first instance the lay impropriators a sum of £3,400,000 or 20 years purchase (being a very ample rate of purchase) in full discharge of the £170,000 a year they are now entitled to, such compensation to be disposed of with due regards to the rights of all persons interested (2): the remaining £6,600,000 to be disposed of by the trustees in the first place in the purchase of glebes in each parish or union of sufficient extent to supply the incumbent with every necessary usually furnished by a demesne, suppose about 60 acres of land of good quality, worth about £2 per acre, and so in proportion according to the value of the land (3), the trustees to have a power of selecting any land in the parish or union for such glebes, (not being part of a gentleman's demesne or deerpark,) the interest of all the parties therein to be ascertained and valued in manner prescribed by the acts for widening the streets of Dublin or promoting inland navigation, &c.

(1) The appropriation of the remaining £300,000 will be accounted for in treating of the Catholic and Presbyterian establishments.

(2) In manner similar to borough compensation money.

(3) Each rector, being in possession of a demesne of such extent and value, is thereby placed in a situation above the reach of want and with a provision adequate to the subsistence of any family: the remainder of their income received in cash, will more than cover every necessary expence: in this case no clergyman to be allowed to farm or hold in his hands a greater quantity of land, than that hereby allotted for his demesne: such as now hold farms to a greater amount to be compelled to let same: any clergyman who shall be absent from his glebe house for more than 61 day (taken collectively) during any year to forfeit, his living unless compelled by ill health to visit a more genial climate, such necessity to be ascertained upon oath by two physicians or surgeons as the case may require: affidavit to be lodged with the bishop of the diocese. Right of presentation of successor to belong to such persons as shall convict such non-residents. The necessity, the indispensable necessity of these or similar provisions for *re establishing* the reign of religion in Ireland is too obvious to be insisted on.

If there should be a new glebe house or an old one in a convenient situation, and that there be not a glebe adjoining of the extent aforesaid, the deficiency to be made good immediately adjoining the old glebe.—Trustees to have power of selling remote and detached glebes, and on that account incapable of being converted into such demesne as aforesaid—the produce of such sales and the *residue* of said sum of £6,600,000l. to be invested in the purchase of estates, which are daily for sale, those of absentees to be preferred, or what would be much more beneficial still, in the purchase of the commonage of the kingdom, at this moment a mere receptacle for the idle and profligate, and in a state so unproductive, as to be scarcely of any value to those entitled thereto; such commonage would consequently be purchased at a very low rate, and in that case the church instead of being a discouragement to agriculture as unavoibly it is at present, would then be the means of extending and promoting it in a manner the most beneficial to the country.

The trustees to have a power of expending the necessary sum for enclosing such commonage, and by letting same to improving tenants for the first 3 or 4 years at a moderate rent, there can be no doubt of their proving productive beyond calculation.

A large portion of commonage, particularly that belonging to corporate bodies has been from time to time enclosed by private individuals without any authority, such inclosures ought to be noticed in the survey for the purpose either of being heavily taxed or resumed under conditions.

By the purchase of commonage the income of the clergy would be considerably encreased (2) and as lands, let on determinable leases, are every day at market, their income will at all events rise with that of the best circumstanced landlord, viz.—with him whose lands are let on such determinable leases: it cannot be less than at present, as 20 years is a fair rate of purchase and large

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estates

(2) The *commonage* of the country should immediately be purchased, as being that which ultimately must prove most productive, and also *waste* lands which for want of capital remain unproductive: and though there may be no question that lands, let on determinable leases, can in process of time be obtained, yet would it be impossible to purchase such at once, or if it was possible would it be advantageous for the church or the country at large, as land must by such an encreased demand be raised at the moment beyond its real value.

estates in genera sell for less (1), and by so much as the rate of purchase would be under 20 years, by so much would the church gain an addition to its present income (2) : land so purchased to be let, according as the leases thereof expire, for 3 lives or 31 years, without fine, and for the full and fair value thereof, such value having been previously ascertained by a respectable jury impanelled and sworn for that purpose ; occupying tenant always to be preferred and not to be changed with the lasting improvements he himself or his forefathers may have made, such as houses, out-houses, and fences ; thus will the clergy be paid the full value of their lands, and the tenant receive every due encouragement (3).

It

(1) Lord Courtney's estate of £ 7000 a year and let upon determinable leases brought only from 12 to 17 years purchase ; this sale took place within the last 2 years.

(2) Trustees to appoint deserving clergymen, whose incomes are moderate, to act as their agents in receiving and remitting the rent of such estates so to be purchased, to the receiver general, on whom the clergy shall draw half yearly for the income they shall be entitled to independent of their demesnes — Trustees to account before commissioners of imprest accounts in same manner as trustees of first fruits. As the estates rise the surplusage over the present income of the clergy to be distributed among them, according to the value of their respective livings. The clergy resident in towns may, as hithe to, be paid out of the funds raised in each town, or these may go to the general fund for paying the interest of the money borrowed, and then they receive the full amount of their livings from the receiver general. This latter mode is preferable both as simplifying the whole system and as it affords the town rector a fairer prospect of his income rising with the times than if he derived it from the particular fund raised in his own parish, which only fluctuates from the erection of new houses or the demolition of old ones : one being as likely as the other.

(3) An act similar to that passed in England for enabling archbishops, &c. to make long leases (the value of the lands to be demised being previously ascertained by jury) would no doubt be attended with much benefit to the country, and by converting the fines at present payable on renewal and which in general are annual, into an additional yearly rent, such a measure under certain modifications might be rendered not prejudicial to the landlord or tenant and would effectually remove that bar, which at present exists against lasting and valuable improvements being made on church lands — for as has been justly observed by Mr. Marshall when treating on this subject ; “ good leases or a firm reliance in the tenants on the head and heart of their landlord are on every estate absolutely necessary for the improvement of husbandry.” — The system but too universally adopted by the landlords in Ireland of putting the lands up to auction prevents the tenantry from having any such reliance, to the great injury of both landlord and tenant, as
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It is also proposed that the trustees, upon examination of the survey of the several parishes and unions and the population thereof, shall determine upon the number of churches and glebe houses that may be necessary in addition to those at present existing, and upon the expence of erecting same.—Suppose then such expence to be 1,000,000*l.* the same to be borrowed in like manner as the 10,000,000*l.* and a fund for the payment of the interest to be created by an additional tax on the rent of the kingdom, imposed on the principles aforesaid.—The churches when built to be kept in repair by presentment, in manner as other public works.

This mode is suggested, as it is hoped that the encrease of churches and glebe houses upon the adoption of the proposed system, would be great indeed, in which case the building of so many churches by parish tax (1) assessed at vestry (a system so generally disapproved) would fall too heavily on the present generation and should therefore be avoided : there can scarcely be a doubt that the odium and abuses attending the collection of church tax (2) and the expence of building glebe houses thrown upon the clergyman (however assisted he may be by the board of first fruits) are a principal cause of the melancholy fact disclosed by the diocesan returns lately made to the House of Commons, that 2079 parishes melted down unto 775 unions, contain but 582 churches and 199 glebe houses (3).

The

towards the expiration of his lease the tenant often exhausts the land by over cropping which serves the landlord as a pretext, for dispossessing the tenant, and putting his farm up to auction.

(1) Taxes assessed at vestries from which Catholics are excluded, are on that account much complained of, and therefore the repair of the church being committed to the grand jury would remove a grievance the most general under which that body of men labours.

(2) How great this abuse is may be exemplified by the following fact.— In the union of B— containing *fourteen* parishes and extending in length about 30 miles, there has been no church for the last 5 or 6 years: a tax however for rebuilding it has been during that time regularly collected to the amount of about £200 per annum and been as regularly squandered by the deputies of the church wardens, who as a temptation to the contributors to advance their shares, usually spend the greatest portion of it with them in the next alehouse.

(3) “ I cannot but believe says P. Boulter in a letter to the bishop of London, written May 1731, that if there were *fewer* pluralities and *more* of the

The first fruits to be *fully* exacted, but ten instead of four years to be allowed for payment thereof—same to be appropriated in the first instance to the support of the distressed widows and children of clergymen, and afterwards in the augmentation of curates salary which ought not to be less than 100*l.* per annum, besides a few acres of glebe.

The parish clerk, a personage now considered of such little importance that the utmost indifference appears to exist in the selection of him, might be rendered highly useful if properly qualified: a seminary for their education would be found a most useful and necessary establishment (1). Men so educated would be capable of discharging their duties in church with decency, and the sober feelings of the congregation would no longer be disturbed, nor their risibility excited by a snuffing drawling booby, for such is most usually to be found at present in all our country churches: as the head of the parochial school, how invaluable would a well educated man be, capable of instructing the children of all sects on Lancaster's admirable plan, leaving the particular tenets of each sect to be inculcated by their respective clergymen, at church or chapel, on Sundays or other days appointed for that purpose

the clergy discharged their duty on their livings, it would take off a great deal of that envy and malice, which seems to be raised against them." None will dispute the justice of the Primate's observation, and yet it is an evil which has since his day encreased, is encreasing and ought to be diminished: of this we may now entertain some well-grounded hopes from a late praise worthy declaration of the English chancellor of the exchequer. Such a reduction of large livings or rather a disjunction of unions, together with a compulsion to residence can in Ireland be most effectually accomplished after the preceding survey and valuation have been made, and the erection of glebe houses over the kingdom provided for, and it is there the more more necessary, because the clergy of *all denominations* in Ireland do not much exceed 2000, whereas in England with a population not twice as great, they are 5 times as numerous. The income of the present incumbents not to be affected by any disjunction of unions, further than by the appointment of a curate to each district which shall be adjudged of extent sufficient for one Rector after the demise of the present Incumbents, a real disunion then, to take place, and different Rectors appointed to each district or new parish.

(1) There is, as I understand, in the county Wicklow a seminary of this description maintained under private patronage and principally upheld by the spirited exertions of a clergyman, whose zeal and activity have in no small degree distinguished him on this as on other important occasions: the labourer however has not, alas! been found worthy of his hire.

purpose (1); the salary of such parish clerk to be raised by presentment and to be proportionate to the number of scholars instructed by each (2); the number to be ascertained by their respective affidavits previous to the granting of such presentment. Such clerks to be accommodated with a comfortable dwelling house, to which a few acres of ground ought to be attached, such house and parochial school also to be built by presentment.

Having now disposed of the Protestant branch of the establishment, it remains to consider the number of and the provision

(1) "If ever such plans, (i. e. for commutation of tithe) says Young, come in agitation, it would certainly be right to establish a provision for parish clerks, to teach children of all religions to read and write."

(2) The rich should be forward to contribute liberally to such a powerful means of instructing and civilizing their tenantry: and the landholder finding that he should thus contribute to the establishment, would endeavour to derive every advantage from it. In Ireland, however, there exists no necessity for throwing any part of the expence of a national system of education upon the rich or poor, because in that country there are *funds*, if *faithfully* applied, more than sufficient for parish schools throughout the whole kingdom, and also of higher institutions for the more general diffusion of other useful branches of education. The chartered and endowed schools are confessedly inefficient and *worse* than inefficient: "the state of most of the former I visited, says Howard, was so deplorable as to disgrace Protestantism and encourage Popery in Ireland rather than the contrary. I cannot he observes, forbear expressing a wish that the benefits of education were more generally extended than they are by these schools. If free schools were instituted in each parish for instructing in the lower parts of learning and the principles of morality children of each sex and of all persuasions; it would, perhaps, more than any thing tend to soften the manners of the Irish poor and enable their youth to resist the various temptations to vice to which they are inevitably exposed in the crowded huts and cabbins. I hope I shall not be thought as a Protestant Dissenter, indifferent to the Protestant cause, when I express my wish that the distinctions of religion were less regarded in bestowing the advantages of education and that the increase of Protestantism were chiefly trusted to the dissemination of knowledge and sound morals"—There are some individuals still who doubt or deny that the instruction of the lower orders in Ireland is of advantage to themselves or the state: but who can doubt that the state derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction when it is obvious, that "the more they are instructed the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which among ignorant nations frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders:" and that the more intelligent and instructed the people, "the more disposed they will be to examine and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition and upon that account less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government."—Mr. Wilberforce was of opinion, that on instructing and enlightening the people of Ireland, depended the very safety of the empire itself.

vision necessary for the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy.— What the number and income of the Roman Catholic parochial clergy and Presbyterian ministers may amount to, I shall not presume to say: with respect to the former Mr. M'Kenna who has laboured so laudably to awake the public attention to this important subject, seems to be of opinion, that the number of Roman Catholic Priests in Ireland do not actually exceed 1000: that the emoluments of a Priest in the north average from 30 to £50 per annum: in most other parts from £60 to 90: in Munster, where perquisites are highest from great liberality at marriages, that towns produce from £120 to 130 per annum and in some few instances go so high as £200 per annum. I am inclined to consider the income of the Catholic clergy somewhat underrated in the foregoing computation: at the same time from all I can collect on the subject I have little doubt they would be fully satisfied with the provision particularised hereafter, and not exceeding £260,000 per annum.

As insinuations have been made and are still absurdly entertained by a few, that the Catholic laymen would never be fully reconciled without a resumption of forfeited estates, so in like manner have similar aspersions been thrown upon the Catholic priesthood, *as to their claims* upon the property of the church, which though repeatedly and in the strongest manner disavowed by them, are yet urged against them upon grounds more plausible than against the laymen, because the retention of a title argues a determination to persist in the claims annexed to it: and as the descendants of James never laid aside the title of King of England, so long as they persevered in disputing the rights of the present royal family to the crown, so will the perseverance of the Catholic hierarchy in the titles, attached to the church establishment in Ireland, ever give a handle to ill-disposed men to attack their motives and intentions. The author, being fully satisfied that no such designs are entertained by the Catholic prelates, and being desirous of preventing such a mis-interpretation of their conduct, and of removing this solitary ground of reproach on the one side and of false alarm on the other, has ventured to propose the assumption of new titles, which without any diminution of dignity on their part, will not only accomplish this very desirable object, but also establish a distinction absolutely necessary

sary between the prelates of two different persuasions. The titles proposed for adoption have been taken from the provinces and counties of Ireland, with a few exceptions: the Arch-bishops taking their titles from the provinces, and the Bishops and Deans from the counties, unless a Protestant prelate bear the same title already: in such cases to prevent confusion, other names have been substituted — According to this regulation, there are 32 Dignitaries of the higher class, and as many Deans. The stipend allotted to each will be found not only proportioned to the rank of the individual, but to the extent of territory under the jurisdiction of each, and also to the probable amount of Catholic population: so far therefore the following provision for the Roman Catholic church in Ireland is founded on the just principle of the quantum meruit.

Provision for the Roman Catholic Dignitaries.

Patriarch of Ireland, (Bishop of Dublin)	-	£2000
Dean of Dublin	-	750

ARCH-BISHOPRICK OF MUNSTER.

Arch-bishop of Munster (Bishop of Desmond) vice Cork	1600	—	—
Dean of Desmond	500	—	—
Bishop of Kerry	900	—	—
Dean	450	—	—
Bishop of Tipperary	900	—	—
Dean	450	—	—
Bishop of Clare	800	—	—
Dean	400	—	—
Bishop of Kilmallock (vice Limerick)	800	—	—
Dean	400	—	—
Bishop of Ardmore (vice Waterford)	700	—	—
Dean	350	—	—

£8250

ARCH-BISHOPRICK OF CONNAUGHT.

Archbishop of Connaught (Provost of Galway)	1400	—	—
Dean of Galway	500	—	—
Bishop of Mayo	900	—	—
Dean	450	—	—
Bishop of Roscommon	800	—	—
Dean	400	—	—
Bishop of Sligo	700	—	—
Dean	350	—	—
Bishop of Leitrim	600	—	—
Dean	300	—	—

£6400

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£17,400



Brought forward £17,400

ARCH-BISHOPRICK OF LEINSTER.

Archbishop of Leinster (Bishop of Meath)	-	-	1200	—	—
Dean of Meath	-	-	450	—	—
Bishop of Wexford	-	-	700	—	—
Dean	-	-	350	—	—
Bishop of Kilkenny	-	-	700	—	—
Dean	-	-	350	—	—
Bishop of King's County	-	-	600	—	—
Dean	-	-	300	—	—
Bishop of Wicklow	-	-	600	—	—
Dean	-	-	300	—	—
Bishop of Westmeath	-	-	600	—	—
Dean	-	-	300	—	—
Bishop of Queen's County	-	-	600	—	—
Dean	-	-	300	—	—
Bishop of Kilcullen (vice Kildare)	-	-	600	—	—
Dean	-	-	300	—	—
Bishop of Longford	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Carlow	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Louth	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—

£10,500

ARCH-BISHOPRICK OF ULSTER.

Archbishop of Ulster (Bishop of Donegal)	-	-	1000	—	—
Dean of Donegal	-	-	400	—	—
Bishop of Tyrone	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Antrim	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Downpatrick (vice Down)	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Cavan	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Londonderry	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Fermanagh	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Monaghan	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—
Bishop of Tahellan (vice Armagh) *	-	-	500	—	—
Dean	-	-	250	—	—

7400

Total £35,300

* Tahellan in the Barony of Orior, Ardmore in the Barony of Decies, Kilcullen and Kilmallock were Bishopricks founded by St. Patrick.— Desmond is well known as the ancient name of a country, now incorporated with the County of Cork.

Vide Monasticon Hibernicum.

Provision for Roman Catholic Parochial Clergy.

200	at	£200 per Annum	£40,000
300	—	150 —————	45,000
400	—	120 —————	48,000
600	—	100 —————	60,000
500 Curates	—	50 —————	25,000
2000			£218,000
Provision for Catholic Dignitaries			35,300

Total Catholic Provision £253,300 (1)

If Ireland containing about 27,000 square miles be divided into 1500 districts, each Catholic priest would then have a range of a little more than four miles in diameter committed to his charge, to the duties of which he is fully adequate. In the North, where his labor would be lightened by the assistance of the Presbyterian as well as Protestant clergyman, he stands in no need of a curate: neither would such be necessary in the mountainous and thinly inhabited parts of Kerry, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, &c. so that 500 curates will be sufficient to assist the parochial clergy in the fertile and populous parts of Munster, Connaught, and Leinster. It is proposed that the habitations of the parochial clergy shall be built by presentment, having attached to it a demesne of about 25 acres, chargeable with the full yearly rent, to be ascertained by a Jury of free holders as is provided by 3, Geo. 2 Cn. 12. Such houses and the chapels to be as central as possible in each district.

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[1] The instance cited by Sir J. Newport must be deemed, independent of what has already been advanced, most conclusive as to the propriety of a public and liberal maintenance for the Roman Catholic clergy. In May 1808, when in Committee on the grant to Maynooth College, Sir John stated that he had solicited an Irish gentleman of great learning and of the highest moral character, then holding a lucrative situation in the Church of France, to return to his native country, from a conviction that he would be an acquisition of the greatest importance to Ireland, as far as it was possible his influence could extend. The answer returned was, that though in the receipt of £800 a year, he would gladly come to Ireland on an annual income of £100, provided he could receive it as a gentleman should do—but that he would not return to *receive alms*.

Provision for the Presbyterian Clergy.

In the North of Ireland there are 180 congregations, each of which support one clergyman and six of them a second: in the South there are sixteen congregations, distinct from the former, which in like manner maintain one clergyman each; a regium donum, amounting to about £16,000, is distributed among these at the rates of £100, 75 and 50 per annum; and besides these stipends from the government, each minister receives a regular subscription, more or less, from his congregation, generally however, greater than that he derives from the crown, though the greatest, I believe, does not, together with the stipend, exceed £350 per annum. The following provision is therefore in all probability well calculated to meet all the wants and necessities of this very temperate and respectable body of men. The only alteration made in the proposed arrangement consists in encreasing the number of colleagues in the North and of the congregations in the South.

Provision for the North.

20	at	£400 per Annum	£8000	—	—
25	—	300	7500	—	—
35	—	250	8750	—	—
45	—	200	9000	—	—
55	—	150	8250	—	—
—					
180					
8 Curates	—	75	600	—	—
				£ 42,100	

Provision for the South.

2	at	£400 per Annum	£800	—	—
3	—	300	900	—	—
4	—	250	1000	—	—
5	—	200	1000	—	—
6	—	150	900	—	—
—					
20				£ 4,600	

Total for North and South £ 46,700

Total Catholic Provision £253,300 — —
 Total Presbyterian do. 46,700 — —

Total £300,000

Every

Every vacancy in the Patriarchate, Archbishopricks, and Bishopricks, whether caused by death or promotion to be filled in manner following.—The surviving members of the Hierarchy to assemble and from the whole priesthood of Ireland to elect three persons, to two of whom only the negative interference of the Crown shall extend.[1] The decision of the Crown, which shall be

[1] On the subject of the negative interference of the Crown in the nomination of the Catholic Hierarchy, the Prelates of Ireland have wisely and justly decided that it is at present "*inexpedient* to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Roman Catholic Bishops," while at the same time, they have as discreetly pledged themselves "to adhere to the rule by which they have hitherto been uniformly guided, namely, to recommend to his Holiness only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct."—For their decision on this occasion they have been assailed by two opposite parties—*on one side* by the Catholic *Aristocracy*, who were willing to subject them to the uncontroled power of the Crown, for the accomplishment of their own views, and *on the other* by a *few individuals* who because the Bishops were willing to concede *something* to the Crown, feeling or affecting to feel alarm, raised the stale outcry of "the Church in danger," an outcry as rational and well founded, as that raised in England on the proposition to admit the Catholic body within the pale of the constitution. The former were ready in return for the attainment of their own ends, to give the Crown a positive and *unconditional* power in the nomination of their Bishops, a power which though safely conceded to Catholic Princes, could not so properly be admitted in a Protestant King, as being exposed to possible abuse, in the introduction of unfit and unqualified persons, and this power they were willing to concede without procuring for that Hierarchy any compensation for sacrifices, which no compensation ought in conscience induce them to make. What on the other hand shall I say to those men, who to prevent an amicable adjustment of all differences, would inconsiderately refuse to the Crown, a reasonable authority in the appointments of a church, for which it was willing to provide an adequate support, an authority not so liable to abuse as that which with the Pope's consent had been conceded to the A-Catholic and despotic Crowns of Russia and Prussia; more especially when Dr. Milner declares that his Holiness, who with respect to Ireland has expressed his decided disapprobation of a positive power of nomination in the Crown, speaks in very different terms of a negative interference." But what is the clamour raised in opposition to the express authority of the Pope and the established usages of Russia and Prussia?—"Is there any parity of reasoning, it is demanded, between states, where neither Charter Schools nor a Penal Code, nor severe exclusions, nor an organised system of proselytism are to be found or even heard of, and a *state*, where all these things invigorated by the very spirit of the constitution are marshalled in avowed hostility against the Roman Catholic religion?"—Yes, there is still in the case an essential parity of reasoning, *because* though Charter Schools exist in Ireland, they are most decidedly inefficient, *because* though there exist some remnants of a Penal Code, they will be abolished, and *because* whatever system of proselytism may have prevailed in the Protestant Church, it is now well ascertained that the proselytes are made not by it, but from it.—How much more praiseworthy the conduct and liberal have been the sentiments of the Catholic Prelates: with them

be made within a given time, to be submitted to the Pope as spiritual head of the Roman Catholic Church for his confirmation. The Crown as in the Protestant Church to have the power of translating from one see to another.

All vacant Deaneries to be filled in a similar manner by the Parish Priests of the County, and the Parishes in the same manner by the Bishop of the County, each returning three names to the Viceroy. The Curates to be appointed by the Patriarch,

them pecuniary or personal considerations formed no primary objects, for when a public maintenance had been proposed to them unconnected with Catholic Emancipation, they peremptorily refused it, determined to link their fortunes inseparably with those of their community, and to rise or fall with the Irish Catholic People.—“They declared to the minister of the day that whenever the Legislature in its wisdom should think proper to admit the Catholic population of Ireland within the pale of the constitution, the Bishops would then thankfully receive whatever provision might be offered for them, but until that day should come, they would hold to the present precarious dependance upon the bounty of their own people.”—Such was the disinterested conduct of the prelates when an independence was offered them.—Their sentiments respecting the projected interference of the Crown in their future elections were not less creditable to themselves or less liberal towards their flock: in the language of their accredited agent, they declared that “to save their lives they could not yield the *direct* patronage of their Hierarchy to an A-Catholic state or sovereign, but that it would not be contrary to the faith or essential discipline of their religion, to yield that sort of negative interference, which has been so often explained, *provided it were otherwise expedient*, for the welfare of the Catholic religion, or of the Catholics themselves—of this latter point, says Dr. Milner, I never took upon myself to judge, but I understood that your prelates, whose exclusive right it was to judge of it, were disposed to grant it out of a regard to you their flock, namely, as the price of your civil rights, and the condition of your emancipation.”—From these liberal sentiments, the Catholic Hierarchy has not departed, and as the British Legislature whenever it is seriously disposed to make concessions to Ireland, and to adopt measures of conciliation, cannot separate the interests of the Laity and of the Priesthood, and as both must go hand in hand to render either efficient, then the prelates are willing cheerfully to concede to the Crown for the benefit of their flock the right of a negative interference. The various modes that have been suggested for the exercise of this interference appear to me objectionable, and as such to have given rise to that difference of opinion, which has existed on the subject. The mode proposed in the text seems to me not liable to the same or other well founded objections.—By this mode the King merely gives a preference to one out of three persons returned to him, and is thereby never reduced to the disagreeable and odious necessity of affixing a stigma upon a single individual, which might sometimes occur, in case the three individuals were returned to him separately and successively.—By this mode too it is impossible that an unfit person can ever be appointed, unless the objectors will please to say, that at any one time it might be impossible to find in a Priesthood (2000 in number) three persons qualified to govern their Church (See Dr. Milner’s letter in the Freeman’s Journal, of the 24th November, 1808.)—This mode then being agreeable to the views

Patriarch, Archbishop, or Bishop, in whose districts these assistants may be deemed requisite.—All intercourse between the Roman Catholic clergy and the Pope to be conducted by government. The Patriarch to constitute a tribunal for the adjustment of all differences arising between the suffragans and their clergy, and of all other matters, for which appeals at present lie to Rome. Such appeals are with the Pope's consent prohibited in France.

As no rights of patronage have or can exist in the Irish Presbyterian church, it is proposed that its ministers shall be nominated by the Crown in manner similar to the nomination of the Roman Catholic parochial clergy, the recommendation in this instance coming from the synod of the particular province in which the vacancy occurs.

It now only remains to speak of the mode in which the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian clergy shall receive the stipends appropriated to each. We have seen that the sum of £300,000 per annum, will be equal to the support of both churches, and we have already seen how that sum has been provided for: when raised it may be lodged in the exchequer and paid out by the collectors of excise, upon whom the clergy of each district shall draw half yearly for their respective stipends. It is not proposed in the first instance to raise any money upon this fund of £300,000 per annum, as is done with that appropriated to the support of the established church, since they might interfere with each other in the purchase of lands: when however the latter fund has been advantageously disposed of, it would then perhaps be advisable to invest such sum of money as could be raised on the former, in trustees for similar purposes.

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views of his Holiness, and of the Irish prelates. and at the same time not liable to the objections, with some reason urged against an *unlimited* negative, let us not longer listen to the cavils of party, but influenced by the desire of peace and harmony, endeavour to allay the weak fears and groundless alarms of prejudice, and to disarm it of its hostility.—Let us not on either side be terrified at imaginary dangers, nor let us forget the magnitude of the real ones which surround us; but let each feel assured, that by acceding to Catholic Emancipation on the one side, and to a negative interference of the Crown on the other, no danger is thereby incurred by the Church of either.—Let not a Bishop of Quimper have another opportunity for offering up prayers to God to stop the persecutions of the Irish Catholic, and let the late creditable decision of the University of Oxford quiet all alarms for the security of the Protestant faith, nor let any man call in question the steady loyalty of the Catholic prelates, who indignantly and unhesitatingly rejected the offer of France to re-establish in that country the fund for the education of their Priesthood.—And with all these things, let us hold in remembrance that in questions, even the least complicated, “men will always differ in opinion, but that conscious each of the weakness of his own understanding and sensible of the bias which the strongest minds are apt to receive from thinking long in the same tract, they ought to differ with charity and meekness.”

In the preceding pages a plan has been submitted possessing in *my estimation* every advantage enjoyed under the present system of tithes, unincumbered by any one of its many obnoxious consequences: and embracing a religious establishment for all denominations of christians, supported too upon principles no longer inimical to the peace of the country, to the progress of religion, of agriculture and population. It is a plan, which gives to the clergy an income equal in value in all succeeding ages, which gives it to them without proctors, litigation and odium: it is a plan, which so far from proving hostile to the peace, agriculture, population and morals of the country, may be made instrumental in the promotion of each. It is a plan, which in place of tithe substitutes a tax, not founded in violation of a single principle of just taxation, *a tax* which does not weigh more heavily on the industrious farmer than on any other member of the community, *a tax* neither oppressive to the *contributor*, nor uncomfortable to the *receiver*, *a tax* which cannot degrade and will not paralise the exertions of the profession it is destined to uphold, *a tax* not inimical to the peace of the country. Can I be warranted then in entertaining doubts of the cordial co-operation of the church, in effecting such a modification of the tithe system and in rendering that healthy, which before was so diseased? such doubts are unjustifiable more especially as the source, which gave them existence, has been destroyed; for the clergy have not now to dread the interference of an Irish parliament, a parliament that has at all times shewn so little respect for the rights of the church, but so much for the individual interest of its own members. My hope, my trust, my conviction is, that in this undertaking, in which both clergy and laity are alike interested, we shall see all descriptions of persons cordially co-operating, and that above all, the members of the established church, forgetful of, and forgiving past aggressions, will with that liberality, for which as *individuals* they have ever been distinguished, come forward as a *body*, and declare their readiness to accede to this or any other plan, by which the laity without injury to them and their successors may be benefited. On their part no sacrifice is desired, but the sacrifice of prejudice on the altar of their country, and of the forgiveness of past injuries on the altar of their God: nothing more is required of them, than the sacrifice of blind attachment to a system, by which *they are themselves defrauded, the religion they profess injured and the people aggrieved.*

But the clergy will have no hesitation, will shew no reluctance in acceding to any plan which shall relieve them of the odium of their own proctors and the still greater discredit arising from their connection

tion with the lay impropriator, (1) provided the laity in effecting so desirable a measure, shew no disposition to benefit themselves at the expence of the church. In times past the laity have acted from such a disposition: the clergy therefore have reason to be suspicious of the motives of the landed gentlemen of Ireland, who if desirous of a commutation of tithe on the ground on which it is above all others most desirable, the *relief of the lower classes*, should be forward in giving every demonstration of such an actuating principle, in order thereby to remove that jealousy and mistrust they have themselves excited, and which must be removed before this great and most important object can be accomplished. This however is not to be effected by county meetings productive of resolutions barely expressive of the opinion, that tithe is a grievance and that its *abolition* would be a *blessing* the greatest that could be conferred on the country; no: something more *specific* is requisite in the declarations of the landed gentlemen: if anxious to accomplish the measure upon those principles on which alone a commutation can be rendered beneficial, they will, they must say, we *the rich* will contribute as well as *the poor* to the support of a national religion, we are willing to bear our share of the burden in order to lighten it on the poor: we are willing to equalise the tax and to resign those unfair advantages we possess from the vote of agistment. They must say, we call for a commutation of tithe, not

(1) Had I any desire to irritate and to take advantage of those very feelings I had myself excited in aid of the arguments already urged against the propriety and policy of suffering a longer continuance of so obnoxious a system, I am furnished with an abundant variety of topics in the history of lay-impropriators and tithe-farmers. But my wish is not to irritate, and though I have no desire to descant on a theme so offensive, I cannot altogether avoid noticing it, because there is no one ground on which the clergy should be more anxious for a commutation than that it separates them for ever from the lay-impropriator, a race of men whom a commutation would at once extinguish, and whose agents are uniformly guilty of the most odious and abominable exactions. A commutation would also be attended with this happy effect, that it puts an end to a shameful practice too frequent in this country of clergymen, sometimes with, at times without cure or benefice, becoming the collectors of a tax, which in itself brings so much odium on their body, and collectors not only of the church but of the lay-tithes also. Such gentlemen but too well deserve the character given of their brethren in ancient days, for they, says Spencer, "are in a manner mere laymen, live like laymen, and follow all kinds of husbandrie and other worldly affaires." God knows the church is already in sufficient discredit from the nature of the tax which supports it, without adding to that odium by allowing its members to become the tax-gatherers.

not for own aggrandisement, not to increase our own rents, nor augment or diminish the clergy's income, but we demand it for the relief of the poor, and to give the strongest demonstration of the purity of our motives, we require that a greater portion of this tax than we have hitherto paid shall fall upon our shoulders: we desire not to benefit *directly* by the change, but so to alter the present maintenance of the church, that our tenantry may be relieved from a grievous and unequal burden, that our country may be at peace with itself and prosper, and that we may share in its prosperity.—Declarations of this nature will do some good, as they would disembarass the statesman of many difficulties in his way, but to give effect to their resolutions, the landed gentlemen must approve of some specific mode by which they may be carried into execution. Can a mode more equitable be devised than that suggested in our plan? Can any measure be conceived more reasonable or just than that every man in the kingdom shall be taxed indiscriminately and without exception, *not* according to the *extent*, but according to the *fair value* of his estate, *not* for the support of one establishment, nor of one religion, but for the support of the three great religions of the island. And what will each man have to pay to effect all this, and for ever to abolish tithes? About ~~seven~~ *three* pence in the pound, raised without expence, without exaction or odium, whereas for the support of one establishment the land is at present lying waste, its agriculture checked, its tenantry oppressed and impoverished, while the farmers of the tax alone are enriched. As it is incumbent upon the landed gentlemen of Ireland now to deliver their sentiments, let them come forward openly to profess their wishes and their motives, and to declare to the government and the people their readiness to accede to a plan founded upon principles such as have been stated: then will the clergy lay aside all distrust; then may the government interfere with confidence and with effect, when the parties concerned are thus amicably disposed and forgetting past dissensions are even agreed upon the preliminaries of peace. All this the landed gentlemen will do, if desirous of an equitable adjustment, all this must be done before any wise or prudent government would undertake to legislate between the parties. But should they remain silent on points like these and merely declare tithe a *grievance* and its abolition a *blessing*, then will they necessarily bring their motives into suspicion, then will they be charged with an intention to destroy the present provision for the church without compensation

or an adequate substitute : then will it be said that they do this " not that the farmer may be eased of an unreasonable burden, but that they may obtain a greater rent (1). Though there may be some, who from want of reflection or of policy, from a disregard to religion and humanity, may desire this at the expence of the clergy and the people, yet I will never think the landed gentlemen of Ireland, who at a period not calling for sacrifices passed to their unspeakable credit, the celebrated tenantry act, to be now possessed of folly so consummate, as, in a crisis *awful* like the present, to be merely occupied in plans of self-aggrandisement, either ignorant of or blind to its unavoidable consequences. What ! can we forget that a stream insignificant in its source has by multiplied accessions swollen into a rapid and mighty river, and with overwhelming torrent swept before it every barrier set up for the protection and equipoise of nations ? Can we forget that all the powers of Europe have successively felt the effects of this deluge, and that England and her dependencies alone have not as yet experienced the influence of the torrent ? Can we be ignorant that it threatens to approach these shores, and with accumulated and devastating waters to pour down upon these, *that might be*, happy islands. As we have had timely intimation of its direction, have we prepared for its approach, and in due season set up such barriers as shall afford effectual resistance to its further progress, or compel it to revert to its natural channel ? Or have we raised a guardian genius for our protection against the vengeful God of this river ? Are we not aware there is *but one* genius can paralise his arm and avert the destruction he threatens : and that that genius is seated in the AFFECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE : 'tis in their *breasts* we must raise the bulwark that shall shield us : 'tis in their hearts we must set up the barrier that can check his career. To raise this bulwark, to set up this barrier all should alike contribute, no hand should be idle, no purse should be strung : let it not be said

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that

(1) The interest of the clergy and of the landholders are not so opposed to each other as many have supposed, for independent of the consideration that the property of the latter runs great risk, if the right which the former possess to an adequate provision be assailed, the landed gentlemen are deeply interested in upholding to a certain extent the income of the church, as by that means they are furnished with a profession which affords employment, emolument and honor for younger branches of families that would otherwise be a dead weight on their hands, more especially in Ireland, where as formerly in France, commerce is not in repute with those who have pretensions to birth, rank or fortune,

that the clergy are unwilling to lend a hand to the work, or to take their share in any sacrifices that the exigency may render necessary: *on the part of the clergy* no sacrifice is requisite but that of prejudice, and an acquiescence in such measures, as may, without injury to themselves, be devised for the benefit of the laity: *on the part of the landed gentlemen*, nothing more is required than a fair disposition to do equal justice and to sacrifice advantages, as injurious to themselves as to their tenantry: it is the *bounden duty*, because for the *decided advantage* of *both* to co-operate in conciliating those whom it is the unequivocal interest of all to conciliate, for "it is the great body of the common people, that form the *strength* of a country when *willing* subjects and its *weakness*, when *ill-affected*" (1). "A better treatment of the poor in Ireland says Young, is a very material point to the welfare of the whole British empire. Events *may happen*, which may convince us *fatally* of the truth: if not, oppression must have broken the spirit and resentment of men" (2). How necessary some efforts are on our part to remedy past errors, is but too manifest from a concluding paragraph in the report of the secret committee of the House of Lords: "but your committee think it their bounden duty to state to your Lordships that although it appears to them that the system of treason and rebellion, which had been established, is for the present considerably shaken, yet that having taken *deep root* in the country, it will require *unceasing vigilance* and *attention* in every department of the state to guard against the revival of it; and your committee have deeply to lament the *facility*, with which the lower orders of the people may be seduced from their allegiance, and cannot but represent

(1) What has laid all the kingdom of Europe prostrate at the feet of the ruler of France? Surely not the want of troops well disciplined and ably commanded, but the want of attachment on the part of the common people to the governments that presided over them, and that arising from a want of comforts; their indifference to a change paved the way for the successes of Buonaparte: an opposite feeling in their minds would as certainly have prevented them, as the noble exertions of the Flemings and of the Swiss did in former times defeat the attempts of Spanish and Austrian tyrants.

(2) What, says my Lord Chancellor to Dr. M'Nevin, has hitherto prevented France from invading this country? Nothing I am sure, he replied, but *inability*: this however will not always last, and I have not the least doubt, but when it passes off, they will invade it, *unless* by a change of system you content the nation and arm it against them: it will then defend itself, as it did before by its volunteers."

sent to your lordships their *decided opinion*, that *no effort* should remain *untried* to open their eyes to the evils they have invariably suffered by yielding to seduction and to the wicked artifices of that traitorous association, which has already involved them in extreme and complicated miseries." It is too true that the same facility of seduction still exists, but is it not equally certain that this facility arises and has arisen out of the few comforts enjoyed by the lower orders of the people, from the exactions of tithe-proctors on the one part, and the *absence, neglect, or oppression* of their landlords on the other: has it not been seen that from these causes originated the white-boy insurrections and the late rebellion in the south? or if these had not existed, is it likely they would have been in their present state of wretchedness, or of consequence discontented? No: they would, if freed from these sources of poverty, have been in possession of such comforts, as must have rendered them deaf to the seducing arts of traitors, "would have made them more disposed to examine and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and upon that account less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the government that presided over them." Thus should all our efforts be directed to render them *willing*, by making them *comfortable* subjects: then shall we most effectually have succeeded "in opening their eyes to the evils they have invariably suffered by yielding to seduction:" Then shall we have made the people loyal from "the only principle that can make loyalty sincere, vigorous or rational, a *conviction* that it is their true interest"(1). The landed gentlemen of Ireland alone can impart this conviction, for through them

(1) Arthur Young after dwelling on Sir William Osborne's mountain improvements, observes that "too much cannot be said in praise of this undertaking. It shews that a reflecting penetrating landlord can scarcely move without the power of creating opportunities to do himself and his country service. It shows that the villainy of the greatest miscreants is all situation and circumstance: EMPLOY, don't *hang* them. Let it not be in the slavery of the cottar system, in which industry never meets its reward, but by giving property, teach the value of it: by giving them the fruit of their labour teach them to be laborious. All this Sir William Osborne has done and done it with effect, and there probably is not an honester set of families in the county, than those which he has formed from the refuse of the White Boys." So it would be universally: afford relief by the alleviation of present burdens, supply him with occasions for exercising his industry and you impart to the poor man every necessary comfort, for industry is a virtue, to which none can put in a better claim than the Irishman, though singular to say, few for its *supposed* deficiency have been more vilified.

them only can the lower orders estimate the value of the government under which they live, from them must originate those comforts on which that conviction depends: they alone can destroy the facility of seduction: they alone can remove the disorder, for with them lies the disease and the remedy: and that remedy consists in a fair and just commutation of tithes, in the grant of a public maintenance for the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy, in a diminution of absentees and an increased attention on the part of resident landlords to the welfare and happiness of their tenantry. What the clergy can do to effect such desirable objects, they will do, provided the gentlemen of landed property shew no disposition to relieve one class at the expence of another: with the landlords therefore it lies to avert the evil day from Ireland and from the empire: they alone are competent to save both; need I urge them more? They cannot require it: they have too deep an interest at stake: they must be conscious, if they but reflect at all on the subject, of more than I can give utterance to: 'tis time that they awake from a lethargic inactivity: 'tis time that they look the state of Ireland fairly in the face; and for their own sake *at least* endeavour to alter a line of conduct, which has stamped that face with features so expressive of ill-usage and mismanagement. Let them now, before it is too late, alter and amend it, and with all other ranks of the community join with perfect cordiality in working the great work of peace.

On this occasion need I address myself to the individuals composing the government of the country for the purpose of stimulating them to the promotion of measures so essential to its happiness, to its very existence, and of the decided advantage and indispensable necessity of which they have long since been convinced. If for some years past Ireland has occupied the serious and anxious attention of the Ministers of Great Britain, if in times past this country under the worst system of mismanagement and oppression has been of importance and weight in the scale of nations, if, as Sir Richard Cox observes in the dedication of his history to William and Mary, after stating that Ireland had cost their royal predecessors an unspeakable mass of blood and treasure, "but no cost can be *too great*, where the prize is of such value, and whoever considers the situation, ports, plenty, and other advantages of Ireland, will confess that it *must* be retained *at what rate soever*, because if it would come into an enemies hands, England must find it *impossible to flourish, and perhaps difficult to subsist without it*: If this opinion was well founded at that time, (and we may safely conclude it would not have been advanced by the man afterwards

afterwards appointed Lord Chancellor of the country, if not then generally accredited), if Ireland was of such consequence at a time that England had friends and allies in abundance, when her national debt had scarcely an existence, when her taxes were of little moment and her power in full vigour, how shall we be able to appreciate the just value and immense importance of this country, *at a crisis*, when England copes single-handed with all the powers of the world leagued under one head for her destruction, *at a moment*, when she neither has nor can have a friend or ally, but Ireland, when her national debt is beyond redemption and her taxes beyond measure: how serious then is the truth, that independent of this country England cannot subsist: how alarming becomes that proposition, should any doubts be entertained for the safety of Ireland. Beyond all question Ireland is the object ever present to the waking and sleeping thoughts of the Continental despot: between him and universal dominion nothing now interferes but the connexion and attachment of this country to Great Britain: Ireland is the quarter in which he will assail her, for "there lies her weak side" from its importance and its mismanagement: should he succeed, should he be able to dis sever this right arm from England, this important limb from the empire, can we imagine that the trunk to which it was attached will survive and flourish: no: we cannot doubt that it falls prostrate and must perish; shall we then hesitate in adopting the means which can effectually shield us from such a result? Shall we indolently gaze and stupidly and inactively look on, tame spectators of the danger that is approaching? Shall we not endeavour to bind Ireland in the chains of grateful attachment? The affections of that country must be won by Great Britain, if she does not prefer a reluctant to a willing service, Ireland must be conciliated, or both must perish.—No country exceeds this in the warmth of its passions: every page of its history speaks the strength of her attachments and the extent of her gratitude; give her cause to be grateful—attach her by favours, which it is for the interest of both to confer, you will bind her in the everlasting chains of friendship: she will, if necessary, exhaust her stores of blood and treasure in your service: she will resign her existence, before she will resign her connexion with you. Let England then anxiously study and seriously promote the interests of Ireland, let her labour to augment its importance, as it will be turned to her own advantage: let her encourage, as much as in her power lies, the spirit of har-
money

mony between the clergy and the laity, lay asleep their mutual jealousies and then interfere for their mutual benefit: let her stimulate the magistrates and landlords of the country to a faithful discharge of their respective duties, conscious that though them only can the lower orders estimate the value of the government under which they have lived: let her banish all old, illiberal, and impolitic jealousies, and be as forward to give to this country, as she can be to receive, under the firmest conviction that whatever she thus sows, will yield a most abundant harvest: above all things let England cherish indiscriminately every description of loyal subjects of what sect or denomination soever, let her take all alike under her protection, and let her imitate her own wise conduct towards Canada, by providing a public maintenance for the ministers of religion in this country: let her convince the whole world how unfounded is the reproach, which has been cast at her, that she cannot be kind to a Catholic, and that a Catholic cannot be friendly to her. Let her assist in destroying the spirit of party, which has been the bane of this country, and the source of ineffable misfortunes within it: let the ear be no longer annoyed by the imprudent clamours of one party, nor the eye disgusted with the senseless parade of annual commemorations by the other; but in a struggle, like the present, where the contest is for our altars and our fire-sides, where we need the assistance of every individual, there is none too insignificant to be courted. Let not our foe longer reproach us with the divisions and distractions of our councils: let us not resemble the ill-fated city of Jerusalem, torn by internal factions at the moment the enemy were at her gates, alternately contending with the foe and with each other: But let all unite for the common defence in this, the hour of danger, and when by their unanimity, promptitude and vigour they have averted that danger, then let them contend which shall be most deserving of guiding the helm of the state. Above all things let the government of these countries apply itself to the strict and impartial administration of the existing laws of the realm, many of which and these not the least beneficial, have long slumbered in our statute book. "Our want in Ireland is rather peace than privilege: our grievance is not so much that restraining statutes are on the records of parliament, as that the existing laws are inoperative. The manners of the country operate against its harmony: acts of parliament cannot reach these manners, but the presiding and directing mind of the administrative power may: it is therefore not to parliament but

but to the executive authority we must look for the settlement of Ireland; applying itself with vigilance and energy our government may compose our dissensions, and impart to every man the satisfactory enjoyment of a flourishing country and a happy constitution." [1]

And as it is through the magistrates only the people can know the genius of the government under which they live, as upon them ultimately devolves the most essential and extended administration of the laws, and as it is the obvious interest of the Crown to use every precaution in the selection of men by whom its own disposition will be judged of, so must the *purification* and *augmentation* of that body be deemed a measure as imperative on the Crown, as it would be beneficial to the people.

But that it may prove beneficial to the people, a feeling, very different from that, which has heretofore too generally influenced him, must govern the conduct of the magistrate.—He is not to imagine that he is the maker as well as the dispenser of the law: he is not to imagine that the important commission of the peace was conferred on him, that he might exercise it for the protection of such of his own tenantry as violate that peace, and for the punishment and terror of the dependants of a rival or opponent. He is not to conceive that he can appropriate to himself any particular district in his county, within which no other magistrate of that county shall without insulting him exercise his jurisdiction: but let him remember that the commission of the peace is given to all that they may "jointly and severally" preserve the peace, and that therefore perfect unanimity

[1] Let me here bestow its well merited meed of praise on the present executive government of Ireland—a government, as we may well remember, appointed under circumstances *apparently* the most inauspicious to this country—a government, emanating from an administration decidedly hostile to the claims of the Irish Catholics, who under it expected treatment little short of persecution.—And yet under that government have the feelings of the Catholic, the Liberty of the Press and the Constitutional Rights of the subject been more respected than under any administration whatever, that within our memories has preceded it. Under this government too be it remembered that the baneful spirit of party, in place of being cherished (as by many was expected) received its first and most deadly blow in the marked disapprobation, expressed by our open-minded and liberal Viceroy, of the *outrageous* loyalty of certain yeomanry associations and of the intemperate *convivial* language of some corporate bodies.

mity is incumbent upon them—let him remember that as the representative of Majesty, he should be no respecter of persons, that he is by a solemn oath bound to an impartial distribution of justice, and an equal administration of the laws between the rich and poor, that it is his bounden duty to enforce these laws, and in his own person and those of his more immediate dependants to set an example of strict obedience thereto:—let him remember that it is the destruction of the pernicious system of clanship and not the upholding it, which can contribute to the peace of the realm; let him hold these things in recollection, let him act steadily on these principles, and he will quickly find that the Irish people may still merit the high encomiums bestowed on them by the Attorney General of James the 1st, and that the inhabitants of this island will “gladly continue in the condition of subjects, *without defection* or adhering to any other Lord or King, as long as they may be protected and justly governed, without *oppression* on the one side, or *impunity* on the other. For there is no nation or people *under the sun* that doth love equal and indifferent justice, better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, *so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it.* For the truth is, that *in time of peace*, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English or any other nation whatever.”

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX,

*Containing the Rev. Mr. Howlett's plan of
Commutation, and a Proposition for Taxing
Absentees.*

*Plan of Commutation proposed by the Rev. J.
Howlett : Preliminary Observations.*

TWO Years have now elapsed since the first Edition of the ENQUIRY into the HISTORY OF TITHES was presented to the Public, in which period of time it has had an extensive circulation among the Clergy of the established Church in Ireland.—Let me here congratulate the members of that most respectable body, let me congratulate the country at large, upon the good temper manifested during the late agitation of that momentous question, *a good temper*, which, if continued, must ensure a fair and equitable adjustment of all differences, and perhaps a final settlement of the affairs of Ireland.—On this occasion they have fully justified the opinion of a late Bishop of Cloyne (Dr. Woodward) that “whenever a better plan shall be suggested for the payment of the Clergy, that is, one equal in value to them in succession and more convenient to the laity, they will thank the statesman, who shall disencumber them of the constant trouble and occasional ill-will arising from Tithes.” That the plan proposed in the enquiry was of this description, and both acceptable to the laity, and approved of by the Clergy, might appear from this that none of either body, (as heretofore they were wont, when unjustly or partially treated) have as yet come forward to refute any of the positions therein maintained, or even to assert that the plan it proposes was unfair or impracticable—a proof in itself sufficiently presumptive, that on the contrary it had met their entire approbation and concurrence. This position however does not merely rest on the acquiescence of silence: it is upheld by the written
P 2 testimony

testimony of a most respectable member of the established Church, who in a publication, replete alike with good sense and good temper, has admitted the many imperfections of the Tithe system, and has submitted the outline of a plan of commutation, in principle not differing from that proposed in the "Enquiry." [1] But the work, to which at the present moment I more particularly desire to draw the attention of my clerical readers, is that of the Rev. John Howlett, which, though published so far back as the year 1801, I could not possibly procure previous to the publication of the first Edition—the few references made to his work in that edition, being merely extracts from Mr. Anderson's able comments in the Farmers Magazine.—Mr. Howlett's "Enquiry concerning the influence of Tithes," I have no hesitation in pronouncing the ablest defence of that system, which has ever yet appeared, abounding in a detail of valuable facts, and free of all idle and senseless declamation: it refutes in a clear and satisfactory manner the assertions of his opponents respecting the supposed influence of Tithes on agriculture in *England*—he shews that in *that country* the immediate land occupiers must suffer by their *abolition*—and that the Clergy and the landed proprietors alone would benefit thereby. [2] Yet he thinks a Commutation adviseable, expedient and necessary—and accordingly proposes the plan which from its congruity with that already detailed, and the good sense and temper, with which it is defended, I have taken the liberty of presenting to my readers.—But if under such circumstances he thought a Commutation adviseable in England for the benefit of the Clergy and of the landed proprietors, and for the promotion of religion, by bringing to a final close all money dealings between the Minister of the Gospel and his flock, how much more requisite and indispensable would he have deemed

[1] "The Tithe system, says the Rev. H. B. Dudley, (the gentleman alluded to) abounding in antiquated defects needs no unmeritted aggravation, and as the pressure of it has been an encreasing complaint for past ages down to the present time, it cannot but be matter of deep regret, that long before this some salutary measure should have not been adopted for its relief."

[2] See page 34 and 5 of his Enquiry—Though Mr. H. very satisfactorily proves that Tithes do not operate to the prejudice of agriculture in the well cultivated parts of England, yet little doubt can be entertained that they retard or prevent the enclosure of Commons, and the cultivation of waste grounds, to reclaim which a large expenditure of capital may be necessary.

deemed it in Ireland, where the state of Tithes, of those liable to pay, and those empowered to receive them, differs in many very essential respects from that of England.—*In England* tillage and pasture are alike subject to tithe—in *Ireland* there is no tithe of agistment: there is consequently a negative premium on pasture, and the whole support of the Clergy thereby thrown upon tillage: so long therefore as Tithes are collected according to their present mode, they must be in Ireland (in the language of Mr. Pitt,) “a great practical evil” and a serious impediment to agriculture.—*In England* the persons liable to the payment of tithe are wealthy substantial farmers, men fully competent to discharge it, even though it operated to their disadvantage, the contrary of which has been made manifest by Mr. Howlett: whereas *in Ireland* there are, besides our country gentlemen and substantial farmers, a large class of individuals, liable to the visits of the proctor, *individuals* already in the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness.—In Ireland the peasant, the common labourer, the hewer of wood, and the drawer of water, cannot subsist without a portion of land, proportioned to the size of his family, to rear his potatoes and oats: and to this he is driven not by choice, but necessity, for his wages are totally unequal to the purchase of the common necessities of life for himself, a wife and children, *appendages* never deficient in the most wretched hovel.—In England such a man would not be entrusted with land: he lives on his bread and cheese, and any deficiency in his wages is supplied from the *poor rates*—he is besides seldom burdened with such a family as the Irish peasant, who marries in the prime of youth, without any consideration of the consequences, and without any impediment from the parish.—But further—in *England* a regular deduction is always made from the rent, that would otherwise be payable to the Landlord, proportioned to the supposed amount of the tithe in kind, which, as it is seldom exacted, leaves the farmer a certain profit, that must cease on a Commutation taking place—consequently reasoning on the ground of his *temporal* advantage, the abolition of tithes would to him be so far prejudicial—whereas *in Ireland* no such deduction is ever made from the rent of the wretched peasant: his Landlord is usually the substantial farmer, for whom he works, and that too often at a totally inadequate rate of wages: the lessor well knows that his tenant cannot subsist without a portion of land, for which he consequently demands and receives
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a rent the most exorbitant, a rent far beyond the value of the land, a rent he can alone discharge by the incessant sweat of his brow [1]. Under such circumstances how can such an individual be supposed to relish the visit of the proctor demanding tithe for his potatoe and oats, when he has besides this to cloath his family and *to support his own Priesthood*.—Hence it is that the *immediate* occupant of the land in Ireland *must be* benefited by a commutation of Tithe, because the rent he pays cannot possibly be encreased beyond its present extravagant pitch.—Hence it is that even Mr. Percival, whose attachment to the Church and to its interests will scarcely be called in question, was so conscious of the necessity and advantages of a change of the Tithe system in Ireland, that he suspended the proceedings of *the Opposition* on that subject, by declaring that his Majesty's government had some measures in contemplation respecting it, but afterwards on the ~~Knight of Kerry's~~ motion in ~~May~~ 1809, asserted that "great difficulties had arisen: that he had frequent communications with the Irish government, and that they had in fact gone the length of detailing them in the shape of bills, but still that no proposition they had examined had been afterwards deemed fit to submit to the House."—He added that he too was anxious that a *total* commutation of Church Tithes in Ireland should take place, but that he did not see the mode of attaining an object of that extent [2].—What the great difficulties of

[1] It has been well ascertained that in some instances *fifteen* Guineas an acre were required for land in the ~~North~~, *previous* to the commencement of the *threshing* system.

[2] That the people of Ireland do not quarrel with the payment of Tithe, but with its mode of collection, and that any modification of that system, which deprives it of its *uncertainty*, must be attended with consequences the most beneficial, will not be doubted after a perusal of the annexed extract from a letter with which in 1807 I had been favored by a very intelligent friend.—"Mr. Brougham, the present rector of Ballyhaife, has been in possession of that parish about 28 years. He derives from it an income of nearly 400l. a year, including the glebe. The parish is a small one; only about 180l. of that sum arising from the tithes, though much more might be made of them. Prior to the year 1796 his tithes were collected in the usual way by means of a proctor, to whom they were farmed every five years at a certain yearly rent. This proctor, *like all of his kind*, endeavoured to make the most of his employment. The people, *particularly* of the lower classes felt themselves severely oppressed by his exactions; they were pestered with litigation, and their discontent

of this undertaking were, Mr. Perceval has not condescended to mention.

Since the first publication of this work I have reflected again and again on the subject, I have conversed with many well informed, intelligent men respecting it, and to this moment I see no reason for doubting the practicability of the plan detailed

discontent and murmurs encreased continually till the year 1796, when one of the parishioners, with the consent of many others, proposed to the rector that his income should be raised by an acreable tax, and that if he consented to that proposal, he should have 20l. a year *more* than he received from his proctor. An instance of a similar arrangement between a rector and his parishioners in the county of Monaghan was adduced as a precedent and the happy effects which resulted from it, and which had been experienced for some years were urged in its favour. Mr. B. who is a man of amiable character readily consented to adopt the same, and was satisfied with the proposed addition of 20l. without any further encrease during his incumbency. A calculation was then made by which it appeared that a cess of $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre on all rented lands would pay the annual sum required. This mode of paying the rector was found to give general satisfaction and has been continued on since that time with this difference, that instead of four sureties for the whole parish, it was after the first year agreed, that two of the most respectable men in each townland should become responsible for the quota of that townland. The money is paid punctually on a day appointed by the rector. All land excepting bog is equally liable to the cess; a few individuals who have pretty large farms mostly laid out in pasture and meadow prefer the old mode, and the rector complies with their wishes. Since the above plan has been adopted, *not a murmur of discontent* is to be heard in the parish, *not a Thresher* has appeared in it, though we have had them in other parts of this county, [Cavan]. The poorer class of landholders in particular are relieved from a grievous oppression, for they were the most liable to be imposed on, as well as the least able to bear such impositions. I must observe to you that the above mentioned cess has relieved them not only from the ordinary Tithes, but from all kind of small dues—family money—christening money—burial money—(marriage money only excepted.) They have not now to pay for the lamb, the calf, the foal, or the pig; they may draw home their grain when they please. In short I have conversed with many of the parishioners, both rich and poor, on the subject, and they all expressed the utmost satisfaction at this new mode. The poorer sort in particular exulted at the happy change and spoke in *raptures* of the goodness of their rector, who so kindly consented to it. And I really believe that they would more willingly pay *double* the sum in the present way than return to the old plan, which in many respects is so odious and unjust: almost every thing was taxed more or less, and the man who had the smallest quantity of hay, of flax or potatoes paid for each, and

detailed in the Enquiry—of this at least I am satisfied that its principles and detail are not so complicated or difficult of execution as are those of the income tax in England; and I feel the less hesitation in making this assertion, while I can uphold it by the authority of the gentleman, whose plan I now subjoin for the consideration of my readers.

But let me here premise that Mr. Howlett had at the publication of his work been forty years in the church, from whence he had never received even half what was adequate to the decent maintenance of himself and family, and that therefore he was not likely to be much prepossessed in favour of tithes, from which such deficient clerical income had arisen: nor could he be greatly prejudiced against them, as his private property would at least be as much benefited by the commutation of tithes, as the latter could be injured." "However erroneous, therefore, may be deemed my opinions, says Mr. H. or however defective the arguments, by which I endeavour to support them, I have, it is presumed, the fullest claim to the allowance of fairness and impartiality, and that what I advance is the result of real and entire conviction.—With this persuasion I shall fully enter upon the discussion of Tithes, only requesting, both of Clergy and Laity, the

and paid as much as he who had the most. Under such circumstances a man could scarcely look round him upon any part of his property without (by a natural association of ideas) thinking of his oppression and hating his oppressors.

P. S. The parish in the county Monaghan, which set the example is called Ahabog; the rector's name I believe is Cranston; I understand that two or three other parishes in that county have adopted the same plan, but I have not learned the particulars relating to them."

In a subsequent letter, dated December, 1809, I was informed that Mr. Brougham had left the parish of Ballyhaife, being promoted to a better one. "We do not know, adds my correspondent, whether his successor will adopt his mode or not.—So much were the parishioners attached to Mr. B. and his system, that they offered to raise his income *one third*, if he would stay with them—but this offer came too late to be accepted." By the amelioration above mentioned, nothing more was gained than the *banishment* of the proctor: the tax was no longer *arbitrary*, but yet it was *unequal*, as the richest and poorest ground still paid alike. Imperfect as the mode itself is, I have been induced to give it publicity, principally for the purpose of holding it up for the *immediate* imitation of the well disposed rector, until a better and more advisable plan can be carried into execution.

the same candor in the perusal of the following pages, as I hope to exercise in writing them."

"Various kinds of Commutation, says Mr. Howlett page 42, have been proposed: that most generally approved, and which has had most zealous advocates among the Clergy themselves, is what is commonly stiled a corn rent. If by this be meant an annual rent, fixed at any particular time, to a certain amount, according to the then price of wheat, and afterwards to vary only in proportion to the variation in the price of that article alone, without any regard to the price of others, or to the different number of acres sown, or quantity of each species of grain produced, it would be highly injurious to the interests of the Clergy, and had it been adopted only a hundred years ago, would have reduced them, in the course of the first fifty years of the 18th century to the most distressful indigence. This has been so well illustrated by the British Critic, No. 5, vol. 8, page 503, &c. and more recently in the same publication, No. 1, vol. 17, page 423, &c. that it is perfectly unnecessary to enter upon further discussion of it here; and I may therefore refer the reader for fuller satisfaction to what is there said. With due deference, however to the ingenious writer, his high colouring has heightened the representation; and he seems to have made no allowance for the diminished expence of living in consequence of the diminished price of wheat, and of some other of the necessities of life, which are in some measure influenced by it."

"The best and most secure Commutation, as far as I have yet been able to judge, *is the exchange of Tithe for land*."

"Under this head two distinct and leading cases present themselves: 1st, the exchange of Tithes for land in old inclosed parishes, and 2d, in those parishes where inclosures are yet to be made."

"The former of these cases is sometimes perhaps the most difficult, its difficulties however are by no means always insurmountable (1). The first step to be taken is a fair estimate of the
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(1) As to the practicability of exchanging tithes for land in old inclosed parishes, I have received, says Mr. Howlett, from a very obliging friend the following account of an instance in Northamptonshire.

"I recollect, says he, an instance, (and I believe there are very few in the kingdom) of an old inclosed parish (Thorpe Mandeville in Northamptonshire)

real value of the Tithes, upon an average of a proper term of years of the time immediately past, without any regard to what has been actually paid, and also of their probably increased value in the course of an equal term of the time to come. This latter as well as the former is always done in estimating the value of other estates, and should never be omitted with respect to the estate of Tithes (1.)”

In

Northamptonshire) in which land was given in lieu of tithes, rather more than twenty years ago. The greater part of the parish belongs to one proprietor, betwixt whom and the rector there had been much litigation about tithes. At length, as a sure means to prevent all future disputes, it was agreed to get a bill passed, empowering the one to give, and the other to accept, a certain proportion of his estate there, by way of Commutation for the tithes, and, as it added nothing to the trouble or expence of passing the bill, to include all the proprietors of land in the parish, it was suggested, that the bill might as well be worded in those general terms, which was accordingly done, and all the other proprietors availed themselves of it, and each gave the rector a similar proportion of their land, which was accepted by him.”

(r) The very striking resemblance between the principle and general outline of the plan of Commutation proposed by Mr. Howlett, and that detailed in this Work cannot fail of striking the most superficial reader. On the question now before us and in that only will we be found essentially to differ.—In page 66, I have proposed that the amount of the tithe of the kingdom be ascertained by returns made on oath by the Clergy and the lay Impropriators, of the produce of their tithes for the last three years.—Mr. H. however proposes, that a fair estimate of the *real* value be had, without any regard to what has been actually paid, because the same is always done in estimating the value of other estate. And this he insists on as requisite, though he subsequently admits that the Clergy have never been able to obtain the full worth of their tithes, “*nor probably ever will.*”—On a motion made by Mr. Parnel in the Imperial Parliament on the 25th May, 1809, relative to tithes, we find Mr. Perceval of the same opinion with Mr. Howlett, and thus expressing himself.—“What must be done, he asks, in proceeding to carry the proposed measure into effect?—They must in the first instance institute a commission for the purpose of ascertaining the real value of tithes, in order to know what was the Commutation at which it was to be paid.”—And then after stating that tithes did not now produce within 50 per cent. of their real value, he asks, “can any plan founded on such principles afford ease to the people?—Will they be in favour of an abolition, if they find they are to pay so much more than they do at present upon a Commutation founded upon a fair and full estimate of the value of their tithes?”—To refute however Mr. Howlett’s proposition and Mr. Perceval’s reasoning, I need but quote the words of Mr. Grattan in reply.—“It is idle and ridiculous, observes this illustrious

“ In the next place it is to be remembered, that the land given in exchange will be subject to all the common burdens of landed property ; such as the expence of repairs both of buildings and of fences. These must also be fairly computed and added to the Tithe estimate.”—(This however, it is to be observed, is not the case in Ireland)

“ After the aggregate is clearly ascertained, such estates are to be purchased or such lands allotted, as will yield a net annual rent, equal to the joint annual amount of the several articles now referred to.”

“ If these estates, or these allotments, are given to absolute lay impropiators, no further regulations seem necessary : they having a permanent interest in such estates, might cultivate them themselves or letting them to others, might regulate the rents, repairs, and fences, as they thought most expedient. But where the Clergy are concerned, further measures become requisite. There is no necessity, or, indeed *propriety*, that the cultivation of the lands should be left to the Clergy themselves. Innumerable evils would thence arise. They would be converted into mere farmers, and be secularized in a degree inconsistent with their clerical profession : though indeed in the opinion of some, not more than they are now, when they take their tithes in kind, they would have but very uncertain, precarious encouragement to improve their allotments ; they would be under strong temptations to exhaust and impoverish them, which would of course become worse and worse to every succeeding incumbent. In a word, in their hands these clerical estates would probably soon become of very little value, and the Commutation prove to them prejudicial, and even ruinous ; with the exception, however,

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reidous orator, to talk of enquiring into the *real* value of tithes, for if they did so, thay should equally enquire into their *application and the purposes for which they were originally granted* ; and in that event, he apprehended, the Clergy would be found no great gainers ;—the true object of enquiry should be, what was a fit and proper support for the Clergy ; and upon that enquiry he was sure they would not be left less rich, and he did not wish they should be more so.”—However reasonable it may be deemed in England to make an estimate of the *real* value of tithes, it cannot be pretended that it would be equally so in Ireland, where the tithes are never taken in kind, where there is another and a more numerous priesthood to support, and where the Clergy are perfectly contented with the present amount of their income and the prospect of future increase from the proposed plan of Commutation.

ver, of perhaps, a few extraordinary cases. But how such extraordinary cases can be provided for, it is difficult to say. It seems best, therefore, that their own immediate cultivation of the land in question should be absolutely prohibited, except only of such small proportions of it as might be necessary for their own consumption, whether in corn, grass, or hay, and which, lying nearly contiguous to their dwellings they might properly manure and improve."

"The superintendence and management of the estates or allotments in question, should be vested in Commissioners, Stewards, &c. in a manner similar to that of estates belonging to hospitals, &c. which are usually in a most flourishing condition, and under such judicious regulations, as to be highly profitable and advantageous to all the parties concerned. These Commissioners should be empowered to agree for rent, and to grant leases, and always to reserve a certain proportion of the annual income, to be laid out in repairs, as occasion might require: thus the burden would fall equally, and in due proportion, on each successive incumbent; their houses would be constantly kept in a decent, comfortable state; and those horrid dilapidations prevented, which now so frequently occur."

"2d, If the Commutation be made in parishes yet to be inclosed, some additional regulations are necessary. There must not only be a due proportion of land allotted to the Tithe claimant, whether clerical or lay, and all the other several provisions made as in the former case, but the land proprietors should also erect the necessary additional buildings, and make all the necessary fences; not merely the circuit or ring fence, as it is usually called, but all the gates, hedges, ditches, stiles, &c. of the several interior divisions. The justice and propriety of this is manifest from hence, that if an inclosure took place, and no Commutation were settled, the land owner must incur all this expence, and must still pay the tithe of the increased produce."

"In letting the farms thus appropriated to the Clergy, leases should be granted of length suitable to their several sizes, situations, and conditions, viz. sufficiently long on the one hand, to afford the farmer encouragement to exert himself; and on the other, to lay him under such restraint as to prevent his greatly mismanaging or exhausting the soil. The rent should generally be paid quarterly, or half yearly, and never more than that of one year be suffered to remain behind; to which, for the most part,

part, one third or a fourth, or, if chiefly arable, a fifth, or sixth, or even a seventh, of the stock and produce would be equal. These precautions being taken (all of which appear to me at once extremely fair, and absolutely indispensable) no losses need be apprehended from insolvent tenants; but the incumbents would be morally certain always to receive their full undiminished rents."

"The estates themselves, mean time, would never want for occupiers. Farms to be let on certain clear and moderate terms, would excite competition, and a choice of tenants might be made among the best established characters. The lands would be so far from being impoverished and exhausted, that they would be continually improving, and their real value would increase as fast as any of the estates in the neighbourhood; probably, faster (1). At worst they would have great advantage over the present glebe lands, whether in the occupation of the Clergy themselves, or of their tenants."

"The income of the Clergy would, I think, in consequence of the Commutation above stated, be more regularly and certainly paid. There are few parishes, in which there are not frequently some of the farmers, especially of the smaller and inferior classes, gradually sinking into poverty and ruin; and more so, for obvious reasons, of late years than ever. They become insolvent, and the Clergyman loses his tithes, not only of the current year, but of two or three preceding years, if his humanity and compassion have suffered the payments to run so far in arrears. From hence alone, I believe, most Clergymen lose one twentieth, some even one tenth, of their composition; and this must have been gradually increasing. Whereas if the tithes were exchanged for allotments in land, or landed estates, if these lands or estates were under the judicious management suggested in the preceding pages; if the farms were of the preperest and most

(1) "The estates belonging to Guy's Hospital present a satisfactory illustration of this. They are let upon moderate terms, and judicious encouraging leases. The farmers of them are generally very respectable characters, the lands are in a high state of cultivation; the farm houses, and all the out buildings, are extremely commodious, and in excellent repair; far superior in these and every other respect to the common run of farms in the neighbourhood. The rents, mean time, I am told, have been advanced, in the course of the last thirty or forty years at least one third of their present amount."

most advantageous size; if men of adequate property, and respectable characters were chosen as tenants, and encouraging leases given for the utmost cultivation and improvement of the land; these estates would be amongst the most flourishing in the neighbourhoods where they lay, and little or none would be the danger to the Clergy of losing any part of their rent."

"It has been objected, that the Commutation in question would throw a vast quantity of land into Mortmain, an evil which has already taken place, it is said, to a much greater degree than ought to have been permitted. Probably I am not competent to judge of the evils and inconveniencies of Mortmain in their full extent. One of them however, I conceive to be, that it renders property unalienable. Now in this respect, all Clerical tithes seem already to be in Mortmain; and the only change that would take place from a Commutation, would be the transferring of the Mortmain from a great number of estates to comparatively a very few. For of every titheable estate in the kingdom, so much of it as is equivalent to the tithes arising therefrom, is, I apprehend, in the sense under consideration, actually in Mortmain; more especially as far as respects the Clergy, whose tithes are unalienable from their original purpose, that is, the support and maintenance of persons of the clerical order.— Upon a Commutation for land taking place, therefore, the Mortmain is merely transferred from the greater part of the estates in the kingdom to those few belonging to the Clergy.— And what pernicious effects would result from thence, I am at present, I confess, unable to comprehend."

"Another objection, which has already, indeed, been cursorily noticed, and, in some measure, obviated, is, that although a Commutation might be equal to the present actual value of the tithes it would not be so in future, from the more rapid advance of the tithes than in the value of landed property. This would be an insuperable objection on the part of the Clergy, provided they could always obtain the full worth of their tithes; but as they never have been able to do this, nor probably ever will, the objection assumes a very different appearance and the only remaining inquiry is, would the value of the estates accepted in Commutation increase as fast as their actual receipts from tithes have hitherto done? This would most certainly be the case, if their rents advanced equally with those of the hospital estates before mentioned. And what possible reason can be urged why they

they should not, if similar precautions and regulations were adopted in the one case, as have been in the other?"

"It may perhaps, be objected to the particular condition of Commutation I have proposed, of placing the commuted estates in the hands of trustees and commissioners, &c. that it would deprive the Clergy of the management of their own property, and reduce them to the condition of mere children under governors and guardians. This, it must be acknowledged, is in some measure true, as far as respects the estates in question. But the more ingenious and valuable part of the Clergy would have reason to rejoice at this. The Clergyman who is fond of literary pursuits, or seriously and zealously devoted to the moral and religious improvement of his parishioners, may be glad that he is thus far freed from the trouble of his secular concerns, and that they are in the hands of men, capable of improving them better than he himself could, and that he is, at the same time at full liberty and leisure to indulge his favourite pursuits, and follow his more refined and noble inclinations."

"The most powerful cause of moral and religious influence in a Clergyman, concludes this very sensible writer, is the affection of his parishioners. Of this affection as far as I have yet been able to discover, we at present possess so very little, that a Commutation of our Tithes could not possibly diminish it: on the contrary, it would give a fair chance for its increase, as it would remove all competition of personal interest, and render us much more independent."

"After this clear and satisfactory detail, and after what has already been observed on the same subject in the course of this Work, I shall merely subjoin an expression of my sincere hope that our labours may not have been in vain, but that they may mutually conspire to the production of a good understanding between all parties, and eventually lead to the final settlement of a question, without which neither the spiritual nor temporal interests of this country can possibly be promoted."

ABSENTEES,

Injurious consequences to Ireland.

SIR WM. TEMPLE, one of the wisest and most enlightened of English political writers, in commenting on the state of Ireland, has observed, that Absentees, characters “so prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, seem natural, or at least have ever been incident to the government here, and without them the native fertility of the soil and seas in so many rich commodities, improved by multitudes of people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a situation so commodious for all sorts of foreign trade, must needs have rendered this kingdom one of the richest in Europe, and made a mighty encrease of both strength and revenue to the Crown of England, *whereas* it has hitherto rather been esteemed and found to be our weak side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than it is worth.”

Having the authority of so able and impartial a judge for classing the absentees of Ireland among the great sources of its backwardness and poverty, and considering them, as one of the chief causes of its present weakness, and of its having heretofore proved so expensive an acquisition to England; I should consider this work incomplete indeed, if before it was brought to a termination, more minute enquiry was not instituted into the origin, extent and real operation of a disease, so destructive to Irish prosperity, and to remedy which, so much blood and treasure have been hitherto in vain expended by Great Britain.

A right understanding of this subject is the more necessary, because there is no grievance so universally complained of, the real nature and operation of which have been so much misconceived as that arising from the number of our Absentees. The
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impression generally received, is, that their rents are remitted in cash, and that the immense sums thus sent out of the kingdom, must ultimately drain it of all its circulating medium; the fallacy of such an opinion is however at once manifested in the fact, that though the annual remittances to Absentees have within the last century encreased from half a million to two million sterling, the circulating medium has notwithstanding encreased tenfold within the same period.—As Absentees then could not have been paid their rents in specie, they must unavoidably have received them in the produce of Ireland, and so far the necessity of making remittances to Absentees, operated as a stimulus to Irish export, and thereby prevented them from proving altogether ruinous to the country.—The true foundation of the grievance is to be found in this circumstance, namely, that Ireland being obliged annually to export so much of her produce, as would meet the demands of her Absentees, without receiving any equivalent in return, was thereby deprived of the advantages that must otherwise have necessarily resulted from her great natural wealth: *there could be no accumulation of capital*, sufficient even for the great agricultural and manufacturing wants of a neglected and unimproved country—much less could there be an accumulation of it, adequate to the immense demands caused by a war of 15 years duration.—The consequence has been, that it has given birth to one of the greatest evils, to which this country is at present subject, an evil the full measure of which she has yet to experience.—I allude to the necessity, that now and for several years back has existed of borrowing in England large sums for the use of Ireland, an evil which since the Union has encreased with such rapidity, that the most alarming consequences must unavoidably follow, unless some efficacious means of prevention are speedily adopted.(1) What then, let me ask, is in these respects the present

(1) The rapid encrease of her national debt and of her Absentees, are the only obvious fruits that Ireland has as yet reaped from the Union.—How much better her resources were understood and managed by an Irish than an Imperial Parliament will appear from the following comparison.

During 7 years war, from 1793 to 1800, the national debt under an Irish Parliament encreased but 20 millions.

During 7 years war, from 1803 to 1810, the national debt under an Imperial Parliament has encreased 40 millions.

During the year 1798, a year of foreign invasion, and domestic rebellion, the expenditure of Ireland under an Irish Parliament was but £4,000,000.

During

sent situation of Ireland? Her national debt is upwards of 80 millions—about 60 of which have been borrowed in England, and

During the year 1809, a year in which the enemy was so employed, as to leave Ireland under no apprehension of either invasion or rebellion; her expenditure under an Imperial Parliament was £10,500,000.

The debt of Ireland in 1793, was to the debt of Great Britain as 1 to 100, and is now as one to 7, and since the Union has increased in proportion to the debt of Great Britain as 1 to 2, whereas had the relative resources of the two countries been justly estimated at the enactment of that measure, the proportion should have been but as 2 to 17.—Whence it is too plain that the ability of Ireland to contribute to the expenditure of the Empire was then most grossly over rated.

That these things are so, cannot be imputed to the present or late Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer.—No, these gentlemen well understand the interests of Ireland, are anxiously disposed to promote her prosperity and would borrow money in the country and raise the supplies within the year, if it were possible to do so.—It is to an Union Chancellor of the Exchequer that Ireland owes its present serious embarrassments; he it was, who first commenced a system of profuse expenditure; he it was who imposed on her $\frac{2}{17}$ ths of the expenditure of the Empire.

Taxation (if we except a land and income tax, against both of which such decided antipathy is entertained) is under the present circumstances of Ireland nearly carried to its utmost extent, and in another year the revenue will be adequate to little more than the payment of the interest of her debt, in which case the whole expence of the United Empire must fall on Great Britain.

These facts are stated not to excite despair, but to remove an erroneous impression existing in England that the measure of a Legislature Union between the two countries has been productive of solid advantages to both.—The contrary is but too manifest—for the burdens of Ireland were increased, while her resources by the increase of Absentees were diminished.—Ireland must therefore sink under the load and England bear the burdens of both, unless in good time Irish prosperity be promoted by measures similar to those proposed.—The great drawbacks on Irish prosperity have been *the want of capital and the want of tranquillity*—the former caused by her Absentees—the latter by her various grievances—to remedy them, we must tax the one and redress the other—and when tranquillity and internal peace have thereby been established, then and not till then will the redundancy of English capital supply our deficiencies; then and not till then will the English merchant, manufacturer or farmer venture to speculate in Ireland, till he knows that the people are conciliated and that thereby his life is secured from danger and his property from molestation.—How imperiously then is England called on to conciliate Ireland and to promote her own, in
increasing

and interest thereof (about three millions) annually payable in London.—If to this interest we add two millions, (the amount of the Absentee rent-roll,) we find the awful result to be, that Ireland must annually remit to England five millions sterling, the moment she ceases to borrow money there.—How is this to be effected? Only by the export of her manufacture, and the produce of her soil.—Of manufactures, if we except the linen, which can now admit of little encrease, we have none—to the produce of her soil therefore must Ireland look to save herself from bankruptcy, and to the produce of that soil alone can the Irish Absentee and the English creditor also look as their sole security for the punctual discharge of their immense annual demand.—How much then must the agriculture of Ireland be protected, supported and cherished, to enable the Irish merchant to bring the produce of her soil to an English or foreign market under the certainty of a sale, and thereby enable Ireland to meet her immense foreign debt (1). It has been already shewn how powerfully

encreasing the resources of that country. Such is the natural wealth of Ireland, that if prudently managed, it must in a short time make her equal to any reasonable or requisite expenditure, and such the warlike spirit of her great population, that if judiciously directed, it must render her impregnable.

(1) Since the commencement of the war in 1793, lands in general have doubled in value, arising from the great issue of paper currency from the increased population of the country, from the increased demand for its produce in our fleets and armies, and from the exclusion of continental supplies. A very considerable part of the lands in Ireland having been relet since this advance, it becomes a very serious consideration to both the Absentee and resident landlord, how his Irish tenant will be able to pay his present burdensome rents, when a peace shall deprive him of the supply of the British army and navy, and by admitting the produce of the continent, deprive him at the same time of that monopoly he now possesses in the British and Irish markets.—At present the Irish farmer to be able to pay the oppressive rent and taxes under which he labours, must receive at his barn door from 30 to 35s. per barrel for his wheat, and I have very lately been informed by a Bourdeaux merchant, that any quantity of French wheat of a prime quality may be purchased there for little more than ten shillings per barrel.—The inevitable consequences of such a state of things must be, that unless the produce of Ireland be greatly protected and promoted, it will in a restoration of the commercial intercourse between nations (should that event under existing circumstances ever occur) be undersold in its own, much less a foreign market, and the ruin of the tenantry and of the landlords of course follow.

fully Tithes, as now collected in Ireland, operate against the extension and improvement of her agriculture. How irresistably therefore is the proposed modification of that system called for by the great amount of her foreign expenditure, as by the removal of this serious drawback the Irish capitalist will be encouraged to embark his property in the cultivation of the soil, to which he must be further induced by the extension of canals through the interior of the country, executed at the national expence, so as to enable him to bring his goods to market upon reasonable terms. By such measures, assisted by a bounty in England upon all corn imported from Ireland, will the former country be enabled to support her population independent of foreign supplies, and the latter be enabled to perform the arduous task of discharging her engagements.

Now as absentees have been the indisputable cause of reducing Ireland to her present dilemma, it is but reasonable they should contribute to the means, if such can be devised, for extricating her from it. For that purpose, it is proposed to subject all Irish Absentees to a tax, which a few years since they submitted to without murmuring under the name of exchange, and that they now should contribute for the improvement of Ireland and their own property, and for the securing the regular payment of their rents, what they before paid into the pockets of exchange-jobbers, by whose schemes and an excessive issue of bankers notes, exchange had a few years since been raised as high as 19 or 20 per cent.—This therefore being a deduction to which Absentees have been accustomed, it is proposed that their rents shall in future be paid into the Exchequer, and thence remitted at an exchange of 20 per cent.—This tax it is calculated would produce about £200,000 per annum, a sum adequate to the interest of four millions, which it is proposed to raise by loan, and to advance one half to the proprietors of those vast bogs and wastes, which to the amount of two millions of acres, though perfectly reclaimable, from want of capital still continue unproductive: such advance to be made for the purpose of bringing them into cultivation. (1)

(1) This sum to be lent on mortgage or other sufficient security, at an interest of 3 per cent. for the first 7 years, and at the legal interest afterwards, to the proprietors of unreclaimed bogs and wastes, exceeding ~~the~~ acres. The borrower also to execute a bond, conditioned that the money

The remaining half to be granted to companies, who shall advance an additional million, for the purpose of completing canals in every necessary direction (1). These measures, when carried into execution, would by stimulating the rapid encrease of the agriculture, manufactures and commerce of the country, enable
Ireland

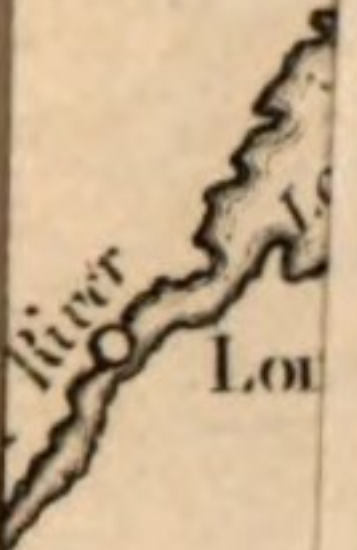
money lent shall be appropriated in the manner most beneficial to the proprietor and to the country. Mr. Foster's late bill, though with respect to its principle highly praiseworthy, must yet without the assistance proposed remain totally inoperative, as want of capital is the sole cause of the existence of such wastes.—The interest arising from this fund to be applied to the foundation of a College in a central part of Ireland, in which the practice and science of agriculture shall be taught on cheap terms to all such as wish to adopt the profession of a farmer, a profession deservedly ranked amongst the most useful and honorable.

(1) This subject at all times of importance to a country desirous of promoting its agriculture and commerce, has at this moment become of the most vital consequence to Ireland. The alarming increase of her national debt and of her Absentees—the poverty and comfortless situation of her peasantry—the large tracts of her improveable wastes—the general want of capital—the embarrassments and distresses of the existing Canal Companies, and the dependance of English manufacturers on foreign and hostile countries for the bread they eat, all unite in furnishing the most irresistible evidence, not merely of the expediency but of the absolute and indispensable necessity of making a large and immediate grant for the promotion of Inland Navigation in Ireland.

Our principal, indeed I might say, our only Canals, are the Grand and Royal—the former unites the Liffey and the Shannon with the Barrow, the Nore and the Suir, and has been executed at an expence to individuals of one million and a half, in part subscribed by the company, in part borrowed on their credit. This great work has been executed on a magnificent scale, and with a durability that may defy ages.—The influence of this Canal on Agriculture and Commerce has already been considerable, and if ramified to the extent of which it is ascertained to be capable, its advantages to the country would be incalculable.—Ireland however it is and not the undertakers, that has benefited by it—for such have been the difficulties they had to encounter in attaining the summit level and cutting through the immense Bog of Allen, that no tolls they can require will for years compensate the vast amount of expenditure—until minor Canals therefore communicate with it in various directions, conveying to it the produce of the Western and Southern counties, this Company deserves the protection of the public, and as they stand in need of assistance, so ought they to receive it on terms beneficial to themselves and to the community.

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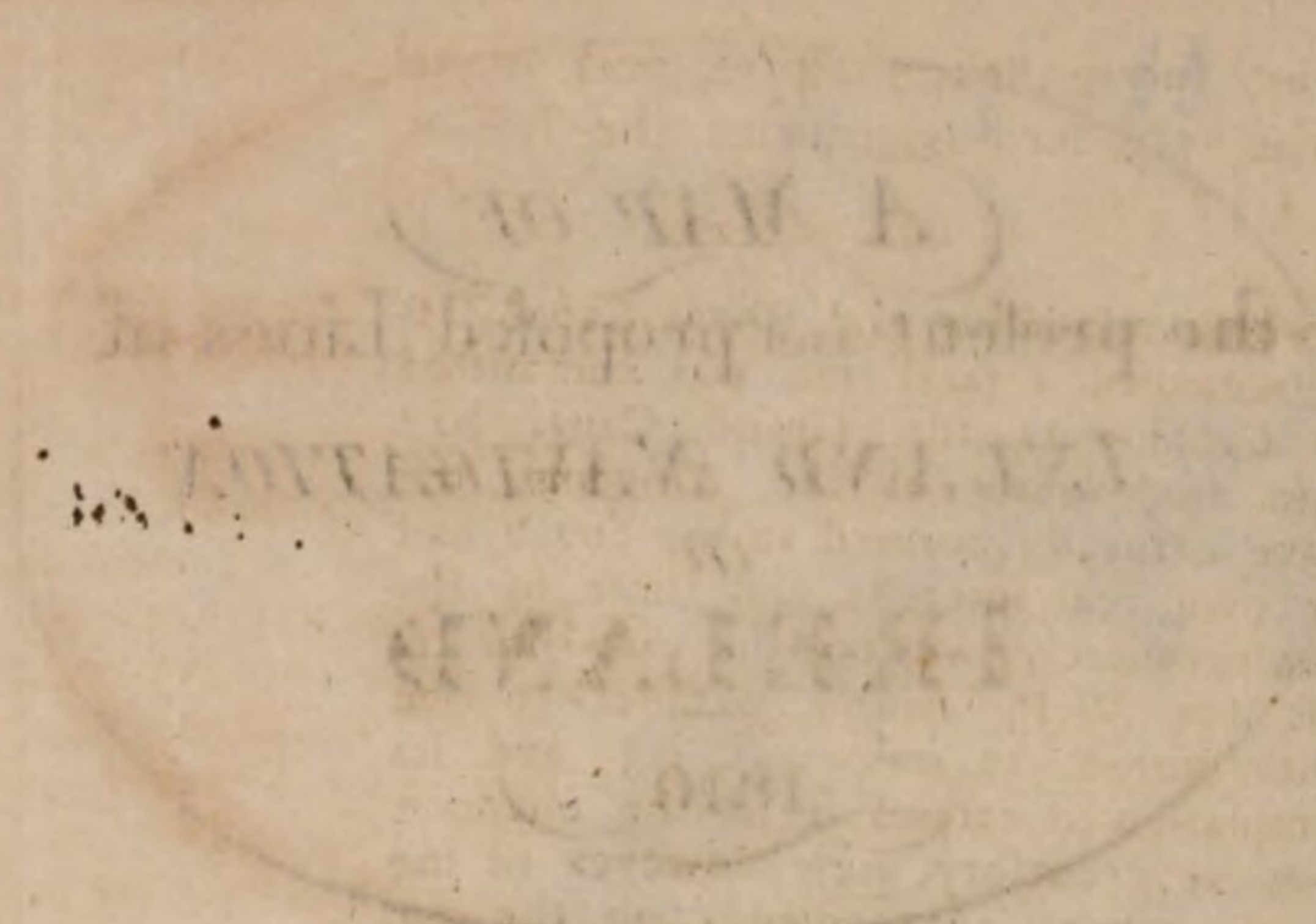
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Ireland in time to meet its vast foreign expenditure, and make some little amends to her for the very serious injuries she has at all

It now remains to say a few words respecting the Royal Canal. A radical error, and unless quickly remedied a fatal one, was committed in the direction given to this Canal.—As the Grand Canal had already embraced the West and the South of the Kingdom, the Royal Canal should therefore have naturally pointed to the South, had its undertakers understood their own real interests and those of the country at large—that however unfortunately, was not the case—for its course as yet has been almost due West, nearly parallel to the Grand Canal, and in most points within 12 miles of it; and its directors have it further in contemplation to extend it to the Shannon in the same Western direction.—A very cursory view however of the map of Ireland will at once shew the general inexpediency on the one hand, and the mutual disadvantages to both companies on the other, that must accrue from a further extension of the Royal Canal in such direction, as in that case a large sum of money will be expended in the execution of a Canal through two counties, whose wants may be supplied by the Grand Canal, while all the Northern counties are suffered to languish without this great national benefit, and as also from the contiguity of the two Canals it must happen that one, or both will fall into decay from the deficiency of revenue they must experience from such rivalry. The error however is not past remedy, as the Royal Canal may yet take a northerly direction, agreeable to the views of the Irish Parliament in the grants made to that company.

Should the Royal Canal return to its original destination, and at the same time make Loughs Allen, Erne, Foyle, and Neagh, and the Havens of Donegal and Belfast, the ultimate objects of its communication, as the Shannon, the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, and the ports of Limerick and Waterford are of the Grand Canal, then may Waterford, and Sligo, Limerick, and Belfast interchange their commodities and set at defiance the winds and the waves—then might the whole not inaptly be compared to the two great trunks of the human system, which by ramifying in all directions and communicating with the remotest extremities use health, strength and vigour through the frame, and in returning to the heart bring fresh supplies for the further growth and nourishment of every part.—At present the two great trunks of our Canals, emanating from the metropolis, the heart of the country, are nearly compleat, but from the want of communicating branches are unable to diffuse their wholesome and vivifying influence to either extremity of the Island, or to reconvey to the heart the means of promoting their further growth and extension, for want of which the heart itself, the trunks and the extremities languish and with difficulty maintain their action.—Will not the Imperial Parliament supply the propelling power?
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all times sustained from Absentees, for whom she has hitherto unceasingly toiled without any remuneration.

That such a tax for such purposes has become necessary, and that it ought most justly be levied on the Absentees, has now been made obvious: that it is not unprecedented, nay, that it is far inferior in severity to the measures adopted by our predecessors, is manifest on the slightest reference to Irish History. By such a reference it will appear, that Absentees were early known in Ireland: they first originated in the marriage of the five daughters of Henry Earl of Pembroke to English Lords, who after the death of his Sons, inherited his Irish territories, but having greater possessions in England in their own right, than in Ireland by right of their wives, on that account never visited their Irish estates, but governed each his county by Seneschals and Servants. The mischiefs however arising from such a system of non-residence, soon became obvious in the loss and decay of Leinster, as the Irish taking advantage of their absence recovered their possessions; the same also happened in the other provinces, when the dissensions between the Houses of York and Lancaster drew away the adherents of each party from the kingdom. Under such circumstances the country could neither flourish nor be tranquil: hence originated the first acts against Absentees, because it was found "that the Lords, when personally resident held up their greatness there, and kept the English in *peace*, and the Irish in *awe*." The first act was passed under Richard 2d. "the English being then merely keeping, not enlarging their borders;" by it all Absentees forfeited two thirds of the profits of their estates:

Will not the Imperial Parliament grant to Ireland a portion of those subsidies it has never refused to Continental Powers, for the purpose of checking the power and maintaining a barrier against the encroachments of France? Will not the Imperial Parliament try their efficacy in diminishing the influence of Buonaparte in a country, where alone that influence can be really dangerous to the security of Gt. Britain? The wisdom, the policy, the *necessity* of such grants to Ireland have been repeatedly pointed out;—to be efficacious, let them be liberal, made without delay, and applied in the first instance to the redemption of a pledge given to the Citizens of Dublin at the enactment of the Union, that their harbour should be improved, the tolls of the Grand Canal reduced and their docks purchased—measures as necessary to the relief of that company, as in the end they would be advantageous to the country.

estates : [1] but this not being found sufficient for the cure of so great an evil, another was passed in the 28th of Henry VIII. the preamble of which recites, " that Ireland, which had been hitherto under subjection, had principally grown into *ruin, desolation, rebellion* and *decay*, by occasion, that great dominions, lands, and possessions had descended to noblemen of the realm of England : " and then, after stating at full length various other injuries resulting from Absentees, it proceeds to enact, that the King shall hold and enjoy the estates of such Absentees, saving the rights of subjects dwelling in Ireland. That this act was not allowed, like many others, to remain a dead letter on our Statute Book, appears from this, that the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Berkeley and others forfeited large estates under it. In the 10th of Charles I. Cap. 21. another act passed making the nobility, resident abroad, liable to all Parliamentary charges ; and in the year 1715, 2d of George I. another, which laid 4s. per pound on salaries, profits of employments, fees, and pensions of Absentees, who were such above 6 months in the year [2]. This latter tax, though by no means so equitable as one upon Absentee Landlords, has been continued, while the acts against the latter, from their too great severity perhaps, have become obsolete or are inoperative through the increasing number and influence of those liable to their penalties. Indeed from the days of Cromwell to the enactment of the Union, their number and influence have been so great and powerful, that though propositions for taxing them had been several times made,

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[1] This act was directed against English Absentees only: under Henry the 6th, however, so many of the native Irish, seeing the kingdom utterly ruined, went over to England, that acts were passed there to remit them back, and in Ireland to prevent their further emigration. How happy would it be for both countries were similar acts now in force against those, whose *presence* is so unnecessary in one place, whose absence is so pernicious in another.

[2] It is a little singular and somewhat deserving of attention, that this tax was agreed to, immediately before the act, which attainted the Pretender and his adherents of high treason; it is hence manifest that at the moment they were most apprehensive of invasion, they deemed it most requisite to tax Absentees. Do the circumstances of these times call less imperiously for such a measure?—Or have we ascertained that Absentees are now less injurious than hitherto?

they were uniformly defeated.—The most singular instance of this kind occurred in 1773, when Mr. Flood was minister for Ireland —this illustrious statesman, this true patriot, foreseeing all the important consequences of the measure, consequences now so obvious in the enactment of the Union, induced the British ministry to assent to a tax on Absentees, persuaded that he would have the voice of the people with him—but who can rely on the stability of popular opinion? As minister he proposed what in vain had before and since been proposed by the favorites of the people—a formidable opposition was made by the few great Absentees of the day, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Lords Besborough, Milton and Upper Ossory; this opposition, however, had been in vain, if the popular party and the country gentlemen in the House of Commons had not taken alarm at the idea of a general Land-tax being the object and real motive for so popular a measure.—In vain did Mr. Flood expose their folly on the occasion: in vain did he tell them that their greatest objection to it was “that the favor of being allowed to have such a law was too great to be expected without some evil design in those who allowed it.” In vain did he tell them that this objection was the greatest argument in its favor, since it allowed the measure to be a great benefit: and “if we are resolved, he says, never to receive a benefit from government, lest it should be introductive of injury, then we must sit down contented to receive nothing but evil from it. I am amazed, he adds, that gentlemen can be so inconsiderate as to agree to tax three millions of the useful and industrious natives of Ireland, rather than five great men who were its bane. The whole rents of Ireland do not exceed four millions, of which upwards of six hundred thousand are drawn from hence every year by Absentee Landlords. In what, he asks, can all this be supposed to end but absolute ruin—I call upon Gentlemen to consider this—I call on them in the name of the genius of their almost exhausted country—I call upon them in the name of truth, that awful Deity, to whom I devote what now I say, to reflect on the weakness, the absurdity and fatal consequences of opposing an act, which we ever wished for when not in our power to obtain, and now, through an unjust and ill-timed suspicion reject when it is in our power.” In vain he called.—A measure the most popular
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'till adopted by government, was lost by a majority of 12 (1). In 1797, on the eve of a Rebellion, Mr. Vandeleur proposed the same measure, and the only ground of objection then urged against it, was that they wanted an *immediate* sum of £150,000, whereas the Absentee tax would not raise it until the end of the year.

Had the Irish Legislature retained its existence, there is little doubt but that it would ere this, under the awful state of the country, have gratified the wishes of its constituents in imposing so equitable a tax on a description of men, who contribute in no fair proportion to the revenue and protection of a country, whence they derive no small share of income, and who, by not duly encouraging or exercising a wholesome controul over their tenantry, diminish the property, and endanger the lives of those who reside and must supply their deficiencies—And should the Imperial Parliament, on a momentous question of this kind between a few individuals and a whole nation, listen to the mistaken and interested representations of the former, rather than the wishes and wants of five millions, who call for it as an act of the most imperious necessity, and most unimpeachable justice, that circumstance, combined with the past consequences of the measure, would furnish a more irresistible argument for the necessity of repealing the Legislative Union, than has ever yet been urged in favor of its enactment.—I cannot however bring myself to believe, that the Duke of Devonshire, the Earls of Fitzwilliam, Besborough, Upper Ossory and Courtney, our leading Absentees, can be so blind to their own real interests, so deaf to the dictates of prudence and foresight, so insensible to the wants of this country, as to exert that influence, they and other Absentees may possess in the Imperial Parliament, to defeat a measure pregnant with the most beneficial consequences—fain would I think they will rather be forward to promote it, as the only efficient means of securing, on the conclusion of a peace, to themselves, and to the English

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[1] The feeling of the *patriot* party may be judged of by the following paragraph from an independent print of the day.—“The late signal blow given to the most insidious Court measure ever intended to impose on a free nation, must afford a satisfaction equal to the fear of the people, lest that justly detested Trojan horse a *general land tax*, should be concealed under the veil of a seemingly advantageous reprisal on non-residents, possessed of real property in this kingdom.”—This party repented when too late of their folly.

creditor the probability of a punctual and permanent discharge of their respective demands. (1)

And yet, as Ireland does not only need a fund for the useful purposes above mentioned, but also the wholesome residence of her landed proprietors, to obviate consequences little less pernicious than those arising from the mere amount of the rental remitted, and as the proposed tax can in itself have little influence in inducing them to reside, (2) it remains to be considered whether any measure can be devised in itself easy of adoption, whereby our Absentees may *spontaneously* and *voluntarily* be seduced, and not of necessity compelled, to an occasional inspection of their Irish estates, and by a partial residence endeavour, in some degree, to compensate for the serious injuries of which they have for ages been productive.

Independent of the evil consequences sustained by the nation at large, the great mischief of non-residence, as was observed by Young, arose from "the damp it threw on all sorts of improvement, and the total want of countenance and encouragement, which the lower tenantry labor under.—The landlord, at such a great distance was out of the way of all complaints, or which is the same thing, of examining into or remedying evils: miseries of which he can see nothing, and probably hear as little of, can make no impression—all that was required of the agent was punctuality in his remittances, and as to the people who paid them, they were too often welcome to go to the Devil." (3) Hence the destruction of all that

(1) In levying a tax of this kind, various exemptions should of course be made to meet particular cases, where necessity or the King's service required the absence of the individuals from Ireland.—Each Absentee should appoint an accredited agent, to be bound by oath to pay into the Exchequer the entire amount of his rental.

(2) Some perhaps, may, in consequence of the proposed tax be led to dispose of their Irish estates, a measure which though necessarily lessening the amount of that tax, will have this beneficial effect, that it would furnish the trustees of the church, in case of a commutation being acceded to, with ample opportunities of purchasing land at reasonable rates.

(3) Thus is the conduct of the resident and Absentee Landlord described by two coeval writers, one of whom wrote expressly on Absentees. "Their Landlords, says Swift, have by immeasurable screwing and racking them all over the kingdom reduced the miserable people to

that cordial intercourse existing between a resident hereditary landlord, and a permanent tenantry—hence the disposition to insurrection, unchecked by any attachment to the landed proprietor, whose presence should controul their turbulence and encourage their industry.—From the little protection which the law, in days not very remote, had afforded the Irish peasant, when oppressed by his superior, this tendency to insurrection became irresistibly great, unless checked by the presence of his Lord, whenever he conceived himself to labour under grievances which the law will not readily redress [2]. This we have seen too plainly characterised in the statement already given of the Whiteboys riots, which with little interruption continued for near 30 years, and which were always most prevalent on the estates of Absentees.—We may see it manifested at the present day in the turbulent and lawless spirit that prevails in

a worse condition than the peasantry of France or the vassals of Germany and Poland;” men, he adds, who will every where cant their own lands upon short leases, and sacrifice their oldest tenants for a penny an acre advance.” “As to the lands of those who are perpetual Absentees, observes the same writer, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved; in former times their tenants sat at easy rents, but for some years back they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of merciless agents from England, than even those who held under the severest Landlords here.” “Nay, their living abroad, says Prior, (besides relieving them of all our taxes, and throwing the burden upon the poor,) seems to have so far alienated their affections from their country, and hardened their tempers towards it, that they above all others, are remarkable for setting their estates at a rack-rent, so as hardly to allow a livelihood, to their poor tenants, by whom they are supported.” Such *was* the conduct of the Irish Landlords of those days. Had it not essentially altered for the better, the country had been irredeemably lost—there is yet however too much of the old leaven still extant, still operative.

[2] “If a poor man, says Young, lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where manners, he adds, are thus in conspiracy against law, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? It is a fact, that a poor man, having a contest with a gentleman must—but I am talking nonsense, they know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassals as he would the sheep he intends to eat.”

in some of the Southern counties, a spirit not to be controuled but by the occasional residence of the landed proprietor, and by the *impartial* vigor and unanimity of our magistrates.

To obviate a tendency so decidedly destructive to the peace and prosperity of the country, the means devised should meet the evil that produced it: therefore it is that the general grievances of the small farmers and peasantry should be redressed, and the landed proprietor induced to take that interest in their welfare, which a direct and personal inspection of their wants can alone excite. But how shall this feeling be inspired? Will his reason be convinced at a distance from the scene of these wants, or will his humanity be touched by a mere description of their sufferings? No, was this alone sufficient, the evil had long since been remedied.—Some other chord of his heart must be touched: some other motive must be excited.

The measure, which on this occasion suggests itself to my judgment, as capable of obviating the evil, has this unequivocal advantage attending it, that without the infliction of a single penalty, without compulsion of any kind, it spontaneously diminishes the number of our greatest Absentees, and while it induces them to devote some small portion of time to the inspection of their Irish estates, it must necessarily at the same time stimulate both them and the resident Landlords to ameliorate the condition of their tenantry.—THE KING OF THESE UNITED KINGDOMS IS OUR LEADING ABSENTEE—as his paternal care alike extends to every part of his dominions, will his Majesty decline, or his Ministers hesitate to recommend, an occasional visit to Ireland, when convinced that it is a step of perfect safety, and that it would also prove one of most decisive and unequivocal efficacy (1). The necessary and unavoidable

(1) At his present Majesty's very advanced period of life, it cannot reasonably be expected that he would be equal to the fatigue of such journeys. But in this case it is not difficult to point out a substitute.—Let the Prince of Wales, whom the Irish people have long been in the habit of considering as deeply interested in their welfare, assume the reins of government among them—it is not likely that the Prince, whose interests are vitally concerned in the well being of every part of the United Empire, would now decline accepting an office, which he had proposed to undertake, when Ireland was about to be convulsed by rebellion—nor is it less likely that the Ministers of the Crown will not rejoice

avoidable consequence of such a measure would be this, that the great proprietors of Irish estates, anxious, as they must naturally be, to exhibit their residence, demesnes and tenantry in the best possible condition, would for such purpose occasionally revisit this neglected country, and thereby diffuse through their tenantry the many blessings of which for so long a period they have been deprived.—But the measure would do much more than this—it would obviate the many evils which originate and are incontestably proved by the most authentic records of Irish History to have originated, from the absence of the Kings of Ireland.—As these records render it clear, that consequences the most beneficial have arisen from their presence, and consequences the most injurious from their absence, I shall, I trust, be excused for entering upon a concise Historic Review of the subject, and I enter upon it the more readily, because convinced that his Majesty's occasional appearance in Ireland, or the appointment of the Prince of Wales as Lord Lieutenant, would, if accompanied, by other measures of conciliation, be most efficacious in allaying all our dissensions, in restoring peace and harmony to the country, and in exciting among all ranks and orders of its inhabitants the warmest spirit of attachment to the House of Hanover.

By a reference to the most original and authentic records of our history, it appears that after the invasion of the first English adventurers, the Irish princes, never submitted till Henry accompanied, as records speak, with but 500 soldiers, deemed it requisite to visit the island, on which occasion all, except the more remote kings of Ulster, came in and swore fealty to him: and when his son John, to whom he had granted the sovereignty of the country, landed among them, they were ready to renew their oaths of submission, to acknowledge him as
their

rejoice in committing the guardianship of Ireland to such hands, and in relieving themselves, more or less, from a responsibility, under existing circumstances, the most serious. Hanover, though constituting no portion of the British dominions, has been repeatedly visited by the Kings of Gt. Britain and by their children. Is not Ireland more than Hanover? Is not Ireland worthy of beholding the countenance of its future King? Banish all vain fears and idle jealousies; fear not to commit the reins of government into his hands; fear only, lest any measure be omitted which can contribute to the safety of the Empire.

their lord, and receive him with the kiss of peace: they met him for this purpose, but were wantonly insulted by the young prince and his companions. — Pride and impatience of insult and of injury have ever strongly marked the character of the Irish nation. Offended in the highest degree, they withdrew and brought their complaints among such of their countrymen as had not yet submitted, and who instead of waiting on John, as they had intended, pledged their faith to each other, that laying aside their own quarrel, they would join to assert at the peril of their lives, the ancient liberty, rights and honor of their country. “So important to a prince, says Littleton, in the outset of his government, are all his words and actions, and the conduct of those, who are about his person. All that authority over the minds of the Irish, which the courtesy, gravity and prudence of Henry, during his abode in Ireland, had happily gained, was lost in a few days by the petulant levity of John and his courtiers: *the good will* of that people, on which Henry had desired to establish his dominions, being instantly turned into national hatred.” The result of the war which ensued, was the final destruction of John’s army, and his disgraceful return to England, and yet when John came again in the 12th year of his reign, the native princes submitted without a blow, which would not have been the case, had the insult been repeated, or had any other than the King himself appeared in person to conciliate their regards.—Lionel Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward 3d, though he came hither merely to recover his Earldom of Ulster, “yet while he remained, quieted the borders of the English pale, and held all Ireland in awe with his name and presence;” under him Absentees were remanded back, and the famous parliament held at Kilkenny to correct the degeneracy of the English settlers [1]. In the commencement of Richard the

[1] Sir John Davies in speaking of the effects of the statutes of Kilkenny in reforming the English, says, “I join with these laws the presence of the King’s son as a concurrent cause of this reform, because the people of this land, both English and Irish, out of a national pride, did ever love and desire to be governed by great persons, and therefore, he adds, I may here justly take occasion to note, that first the absence of the Kings of England and next the absence of those great lords, who were inheritors of mighty Seignories, have been main causes why this kingdom was not reduced in so many ages.”

“Touching

the second's reign, the parliament of England resolved that Thomas Duke of Gloucester the King's uncle, should be employed in the reformation and reduction of this kingdom, "the fame whereof, says Sir John Davies, was no sooner bruited in Ireland, but all the Irish were ready to submit themselves before his coming. So much the very name of a great personage, *especially of a Prince of the blood*, did ever prevail with this people." Richard himself was twice induced to visit Ireland with an army of great strength, at first, however, merely in consequence of the reproach cast on him by the Electors of Germany, when a candidate for the Empire. Richard was satisfied with the submissions, most readily tendered by the native princes, though on these occasions he had it in his power to accomplish any given object he might have had in view. After him, though many of the King's sons or brothers were appointed to the government of Ireland, yet they never attended, but acted by deputies, too often held in disrespect both by the English and Irish chiefs, whose pride ill-brooked such controul (2). Nor did Ireland, since Richard's reign, again see any of England's royal race, till the unfortunate James took refuge among them, who, though neither his family nor himself had at any time merited the gratitude of the Irish people, was yet warmly supported by them, as their legitimate prince, and *the descendant of their own Kings*: and after his defeat and the subjugation of the island, thousands transported themselves to France, where they became subservient to his interests, as they had before been to those of his ungrateful brother.—The race of Stuart in the *male* line is now extinct, and its female branch is chiefly to be traced in the House of Hanover.

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"Touching the absence of our Kings, he adds, three only of them have made royal journies into this land and yet they no sooner arrived here, but that all the Irish (as if they had been but one man) submitted themselves, took oaths of fidelity and gave pledges and hostages to continue loyal; and if any of those Kings had continued here in person a competent time, till they had settled both English and Irish in their several possessions, and had settled law in a due course throughout the kingdom, those times, wherein we live, had not gained the honour of the final conquest of Ireland."

[2] "They scorned, says Sir John Davies, the English knights sent to govern the kingdom."

As the reigning family of Great Britain can then justly claim a descent from the ancient Kings of Ireland, and as the Irish have ever been warmly attached to their monarchs, and peculiarly proud of the splendor and antiquity of their monarchy, can the British government for a moment hesitate in taking advantage of so fortunate a circumstance with a people, over whom family and national prejudices exert unbounded sway.—Remove but the grievances under which they labour, flatter their pride in the appointment of one of the royal race as their chief Governor, and by these means give free scope to the innate loyalty and grateful disposition of the people, then will Catholic, Presbyterian and Protestant join with one united voice in hailing the true representative of Majesty: then will all recollection of the past begin to fade, and ere long be buried in eternal oblivion: then will Great Britain by perseverance in such means finally establish in the Irish breast an inexhaustible fund of never-failing gratitude, *a fund*, upon which she may draw as largely as the necessities of the Empire can require: by such means would the Irish people (in the words of Sir John Davies) become “altogether admirers of the Crown of England, but not by being brayed in the Mortar;” then indeed would there be “*a perfect Union* between the nations, and consequently a perfect conquest of Ireland. For the conquest is never perfect till the war be at an end, and the war is not at an end till there be peace and unity: and there never can be unity and concord in any one kingdom, but when there is **ONE KING, ONE ALLEGIANCE, and ONE LAW.**”

RECAPITULATION.

RECAPITULATION.

BEFORE I conclude—let me revert to one of the most important of the many topics, that have been touched on, and endeavour once more to impress on the minds of those, who can contribute thereto, the absolute and indispensable necessity of following up the act of Union with measures of *immediate* and *ultimate* advantage to this country, if they are anxious for the continuation of that connection which for so many centuries has subsisted between Great Britain and Ireland. “It ought to be considered, said Mr. Canning, (on the discussion of the Union in 1799,) that some of the principles of the French Revolution had made a great impression upon the inhabitants of Ireland—poor and uncivilized as the generality of them were, and distracted by religious feuds, and that the enemy still hoped to profit by the favourable disposition of a part of that nation.—*To extinguish such hopes—to put Ireland out of danger both from foreign and domestic enemies, and in every point of view to improve her condition,* were the objects of the proposed Union.—*It was not the fault of the people the country was in such a situation; they wanted commerce, they wanted capital, they wanted a particular class of men to connect the highest and the lowest orders of society so as to harmonize the whole—But it was not a mere Act of Parliament that would accomplish these great and beneficial objects.—It was only a connection with a country which had capital, which had commerce, which had a respectable middle class that could effect the change.”—That the Legislative Union, notwithstanding all its boasted efficacy, has not rendered the dissolution of the connection between the two countries impossible, nay, that it has rather tended still further to endanger it, is a proposition in itself but too plain from the fact, that an Arms and Insurrection act have been resorted to keep in check a large party supposed to be favorable to the interests of France.—And yet*

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since the enactment of the Union, various circumstances have occurred, which if they did not attach the lower orders of the Irish to British connection, might reasonably have been deemed sufficient to destroy the supposed grounds of their attachment to France.—For the French revolution has long since terminated in despotism the most unequivocal, in a despotism which has dispossessed the Pope of his temporal and of no small portion of his spiritual power—consequently the attachment of the lower orders of the Irish to France was not owing to any impression made on them by French revolutionary principles, but on the contrary must be owing some cause so strong, that even the insulting and violent treatment experienced by the Pope, *their supposed idol*, could not weaken it: and yet has the Union, notwithstanding this unhopèd for assistance, destroyed “the favorable disposition of that part of the nation” to France? Has it extinguished the hopes of the enemy, put Ireland out of danger, or improved its condition? Alas no,—It has as yet been “a mere Act of Parliament,” and if it has had any operation, its tendency has been to encrease the influence of the enemy in the country, and to place Ireland in greater danger than ever—And yet, “it is not the fault of the people that the country is in such a situation:” they want commerce, they want capital: they want a free participation of the blessings of the British Constitution: they want relief from tithes and from a double priesthood: they want resident and attentive Landlords: they want an impartial and active magistracy—These are the wants of Ireland: these are the wants which render an Arms and Insurrection bill necessary, which attach her to France, which keep alive our fears and the hopes of the enemy.—Shall we not try whether concessions may not extinguish his hopes—dispel our fears: shall we not profit by the awful example of the surrounding nations, and learn in time that the affection of a people is the only bulwark of a country, and their attachment to the state the only security for its safety.

EXPLANATION

EXPLANATION
OF THE
PLATES.

The Author feels most happy in giving insertion to the following Letter as the best explanation of the Plates, and as the ablest comment upon them.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE already sent you the sketches you required from me, and should derive real pleasure from their execution, could I flatter myself that they would in any wise answer the object you have in view.—They are of three distinct classes, which I would distinguish by the names of the cot, the cottage, and the small farm house.—The first, No. 1, is the smallest and simplest building that can be erected to contain a family; instead of having the sleeping and living rooms on the ground floor, it contains but the living room alone, which is 12 feet square; at fig. 1, is a recess for a cupboard: at fig. 2, another for the dresser: at fig. 3, a small closet under the stairs for coals, potatoes, &c. The stairs are but a better kind of step-ladder, having no bearers, the steps being inserted in the wall and in the partition—they lead to two small chambers separated from each other by a partition of the cheapest structure, each lighted by a small window in either gable;—the rafters of the roof, in place of being connected by collars, rest
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upon a purloin on each side, which gives the entire space contained in the roof for head room—the height of the wall from the ground floor to the top of the eve course is eleven feet, six inches—the first story being seven feet, six inches high, and the remainder and the roof being occupied by the chamber—the entire length from out to out of this small building is but nineteen feet, and its breadth but fifteen feet,—by curtailing it in length and encreasing it a little in height, to admit of room in the roof, the reduction of the walling, roofing and slating, would amply compensate for the flooring of the chamber.—One of the best compositions for the ground floor is a mortar formed of hot lime, powdered, well washed pit sand, and powdered brick dust; nearly in equal parts, made up as if for plastering.—The bottom of the floor should be of lime riddlings, (if at hand,) moistened, or strong clay rammed, the top levelled within an inch of its height with common mortar well levelled, and let to soak for a day or two,—the remaining inch to be filled with the composition, which must be mixed only as it is used, laid on whilst fresh, and set immediately.—The floor should be one foot above the natural surface of the ground, six inches of which should be filled and inclined from the cottage to carry off water and prevent its settling about it, and the remaining six inches should form a step into it above that level,—with a small garden and a yard containing a pig sty and dung pit, this small building would contain as much accommodation as could be procured in so small a space.—Timber from the thinning of plantations of twelve or fourteen years growth, particularly of larch, would answer for these purposes; and when other materials were on the spot or easily procured, such a cot would be built for about fifteen guineas. In the fourth plate is a plan of two cots united, which would make a reduction in the expence.

No. 2, I call a *cottage*, which would contain ample accommodation for a family; having a living room and chamber on the ground floor, and two small chambers in the roof—a *lean-to*, containing a closet for coals, potatoes, &c. (in the rere of which the sty for the pig may be placed) and a porch.—If neatly built, and treillage added for creeping plants, this little building might be productive of considerable picturesque effect, and would, encircled by a rustic paling, be a neat appendage to an entrance gate.—This building may be erected for about twenty or twenty five guineas, according to the style in which it is executed.

No. 3, is a small farm house; this description of dwellings, as being more respectable, requires better accommodation than those

those that preceded — One of the first principles in disposing a farm house and its offices, is this, that the arrangement should be such as to place the business under the immediate observation of the proprietor—consequently, if you suppose a circle, or parallelogram, the farm house in the centre, with its different offices surrounding it, this will be the most commanding situation you can place the master in, and when a large farm yard was to be laid out, would be the best disposition of it.—Here, as I have represented this small house, accompanied by plantation, and given it a dressed appearance, I have placed the farm yard and offices in the *rere*, in immediate contact with the house; a window from which may command them: on the opposite side are the garden, and the hay-yard in the *rere* of them.—The farm house contains a kitchen, parlor, a small cellar and dairy, on the ground floor, and a pantry, with four chambers over; the stairs as those of the cottages, are inserted in the partitions, fly strait forward, land in the midst of the rooms, and are lighted by a sky light,—the second figure, in the fourth plate is the chamber plan.—This building under *favorable circumstances* could be built for about eighty pounds.

It has been very generally asserted that the Irish peasantry are slovenly and uncleanly in disposition; before the truth of such an assertion be admitted, it is sincerely to be regretted, that they have not been incited to improvement by *example*, rather than by *precept*; it being much more effectual to *shew* a man what he ought to do, than to *tell* him what should be done: 'tis to the want of example principally we are indebted for the mean uncleanly, and cheerless appearance of the habitations of our cottagers.—Poverty, wretchedness and their consequent attendants, are to be met with every where, and are no more peculiar to, though more general in Ireland, than any other country. *Wood*, the architect of Bath, faithfully describes the wretchedness of his neighbourhood at the time he wrote. “It is melancholy, he says, to see a man and his wife, and sometimes half a dozen children, crowded together in the same room, nay, often, in the same bed; the horror is still heightened, and the inconveniency encreased at the time the woman is in child-bed, or in case of illness, or death;” Ireland could not produce a more affecting picture.—For the powerful effect of example, I would refer you to the neighbourhoods of Heywood, Abbeyleix, and Woodstock; the worthy and respectable proprietors of these beautiful

tiful seats, with a degree of liberality and feeling, equally honorable to their heads and hearts, have warmly interested themselves in the welfare and happiness of their cottagers, as well as of their tenantry at large — From their well-directed exertions, as well as from those of all the neighbouring gentlemen, has arisen the improved and beautiful aspect of that country, the neatness and cleanliness of the habitations, and of the persons of the cottagers. (1)

Attempts at improvement to be effectual, must be steadily persevered in. — It is vain to expect that ignorance can be at once dispelled, or that taste will spring up spontaneously : her steps are progressive — the necessities of life must be procured before its luxuries can be thought of ; — he that in uncertainty expects the morsel by which life is to be prolonged, and that shivers under the vicissitudes of the elements without protection, thinks more of a regular meal and good covering, than of “ training the woodbine to his window.” — The character of the Irish peasant possesses great strength of outline, firm and generous in his friendships, ardent in his affections, with sinews formed for fatigue, and a heart superior to every difficulty, he yields precedence to none in the hours of labor or of danger — If ignorance blinds or poverty debars him of those refinements, with the want of which he is so *frequently* reproached, to whom but to the landed proprietors of the country, can he look for the dissipation of the one, and for relief from the other ; let *them* set him the example, let *them* incite him by attention, by praise, and by ordinary acts of kindness ; let them bestow upon him but half the care, that is bestowed upon the same class of people in England, and we shall soon behold him, and the fine country he inhabits, emerge from their present cheerless and unimproved condition. — With respect to their dwellings, change of system, appears to me the first great and most essential means of improvement : the present system is most erroneous. — Upon all large farms, resident cotters, or labourers, are indispensably necessary, and although at present scarcely possessing the means of

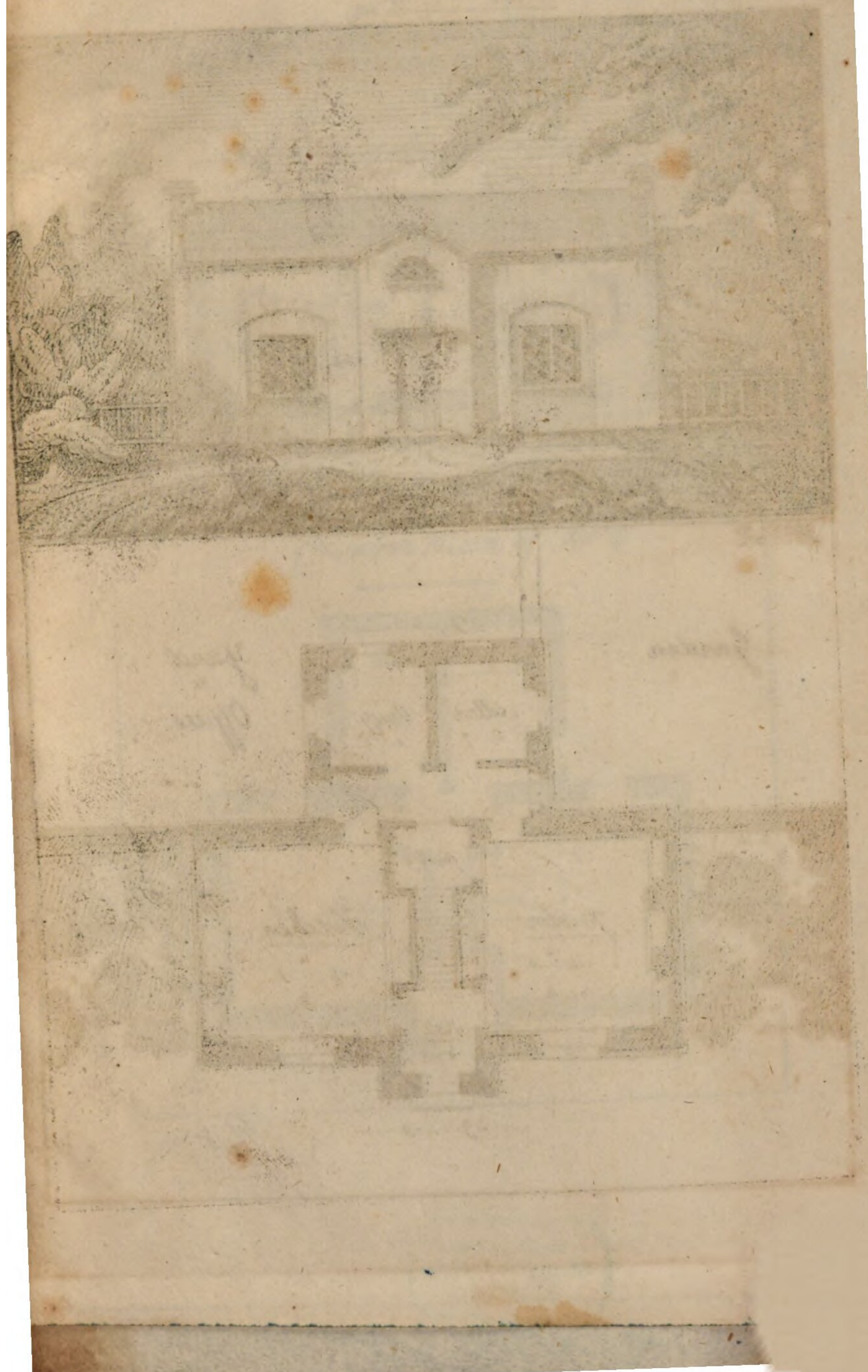
(1) A celebrated modern improver is said to have suggested the idea of giving increased importance to a nobleman's seat, by introducing his arms on the adjoining mile stones — With what a grand difference of effect could neat cottages be substituted for emblazoned mile stones — *they* would indeed be the eloquent heralds of his dignity and virtues.

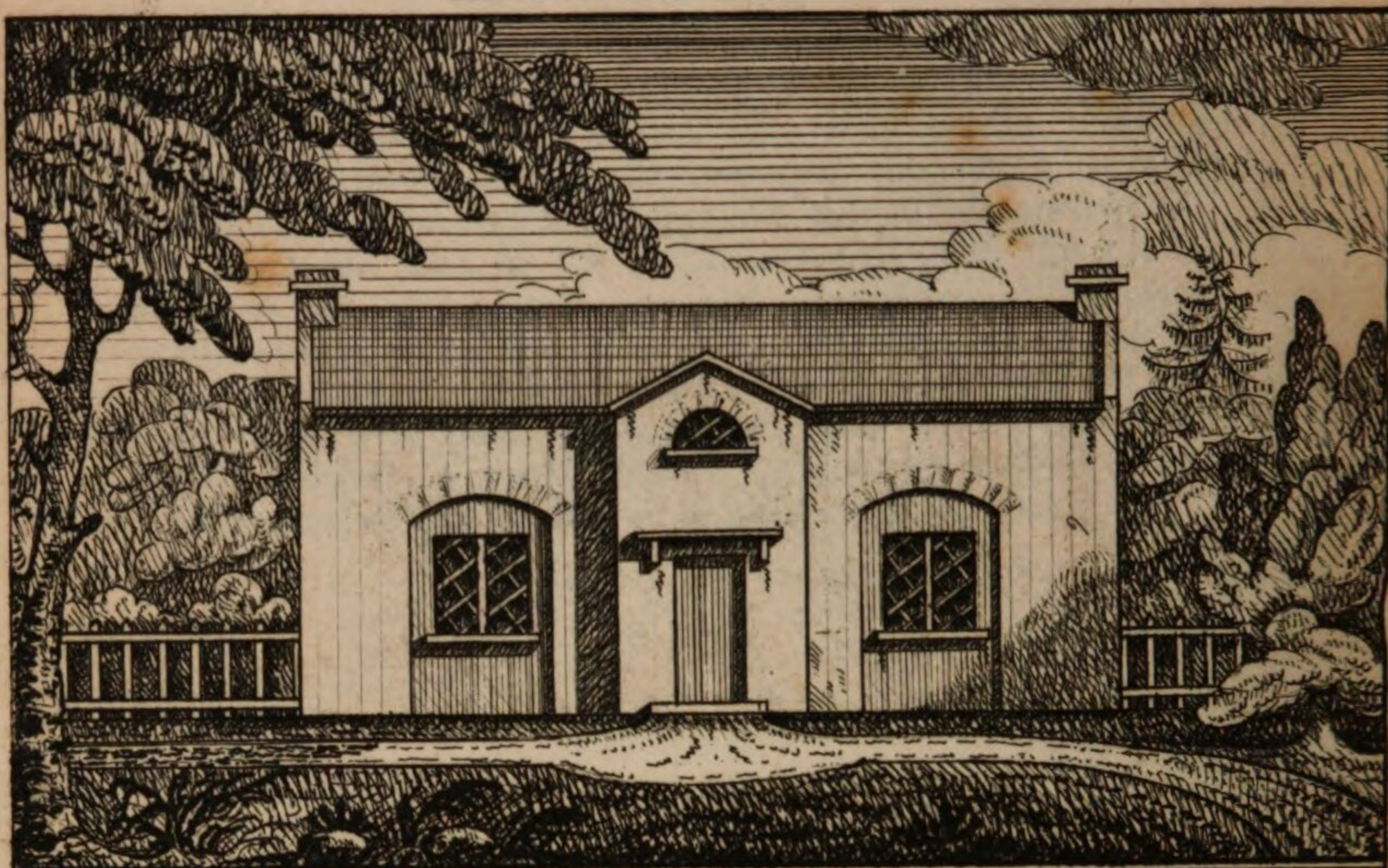
of existence, they are yet in general required to build their own habitations, which of necessity must be the rudest, and most perishable of its kind. It is the interest as well as duty of the landholder, to build the cottage of his labourer, in a permanent manner, and he may charge an equitable rent, sufficient to pay the interest of the money expended, and the value of the ground attached as a garden, which ought to be inseparable from it—this principle should extend to dwellings, &c. for all descriptions of farms, and in all would be ultimately found equally advantageous to the landlord and the tenant.—In England this practice is universally adopted,—*the tenant being obliged to keep the buildings in repair during his Lease.*—The longer a building of any description lasts, the cheaper it is; therefore the materials and their durability are of the first importance.—Where stone can be procured, there is nothing equal to it for the walls; and slating for the covering; clay, however well worked, even though placed upon a stone basement, is extremely perishable; if mortar is used in the stone basement, the better.—In England cottages are frequently built of what is called (technically) “brick nogging,” that is, the exterior of the cottage is formed of timber framing, and the intermediate spaces of the framing are filled up with brick, as in partitions; and this, encrusted over with good lime plaister, placed upon a coat of strong dashing, is an exceedingly neat and ready mode of building them; for they are no sooner built than fit to inhabit.—Building with cases, or “*maison pise*” is also an excellent and ready mode of erecting cottages with clay; but requires considerable experience to become expert at it. Straw in all its stages is more picturesque than slates, and is the principal material that must be used for covering cottages, from the difficulty of procuring slates.—Strong Sedge makes a good and picturesque covering.

I shall now conclude this long letter, with proposing a remedy for what must be admitted a real nuisance; in every town and village, myriads of dung heaps present themselves to the eye of the passenger; is it wonderful then we should be represented as wedded to filth, when every stranger the mail conveys through the kingdom, has such disgusting spectacles constantly presented to his view—the general excuse is, that the habitations of the poor have no yards attached to them, and that dung is absolutely necessary to raise their *potatoes*.—In England surveyors are appointed to see that no buildings of any description are erected
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in the streets, or on the highways, contrary to the regulations laid down by the Act of Parliament.—Any person building without the approbation of the surveyor, subjects himself to have that building levelled to the ground without compensation. Would it not be wise in the Legislature to extend this act to Ireland? in that case should pigs and dung-heaps still present themselves to the public eye, there could be no apology for it, but the supineness of the magistrates.—The Surveyor would see that no houses were built without yards, and when there were yards, the magistrates could steadily enforce the removal of all such nuisances without injury to the interests of the poor.”

F I N I S.





W.R.

Garden

19-0

Yard & Offices

cellar 0-7 dairy 0-8

pantry

parlor

14-0 9-6

Kitchen

14-0 9-6

Hall

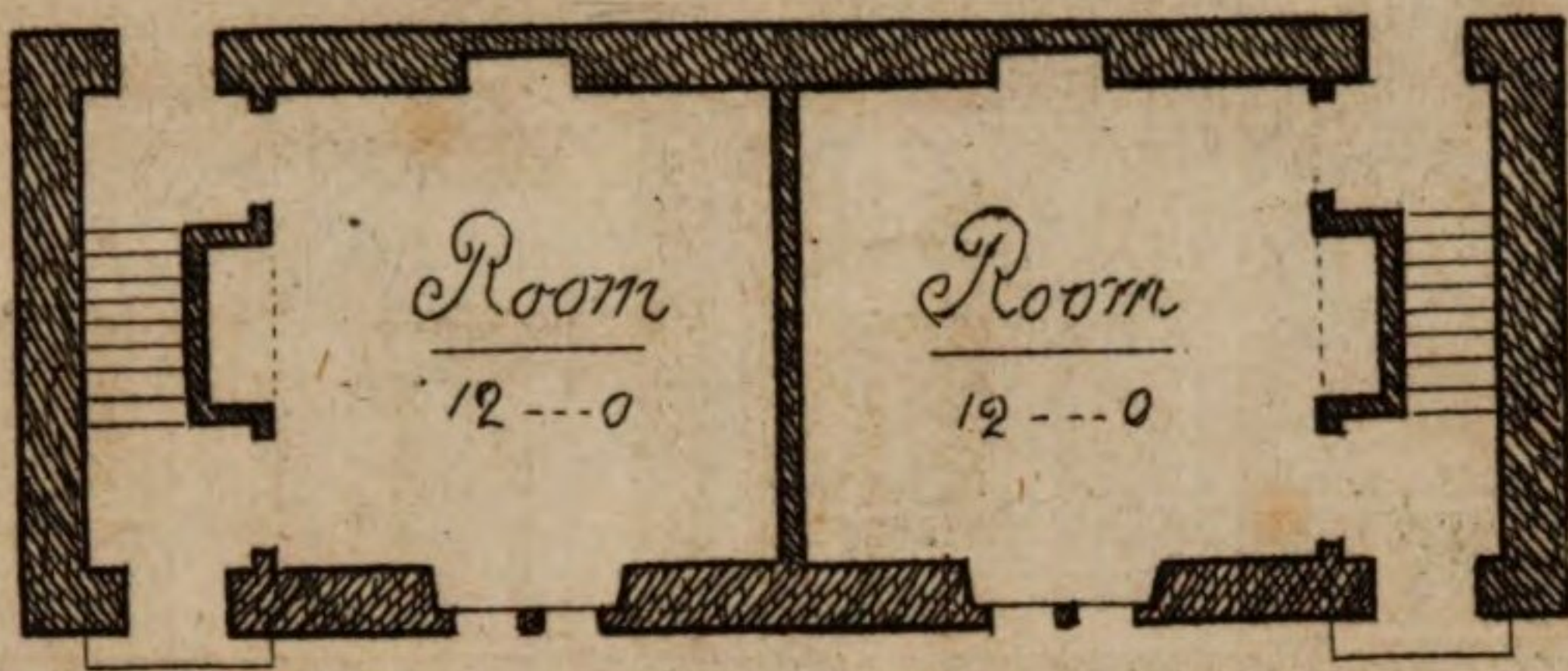
6-0

39-0

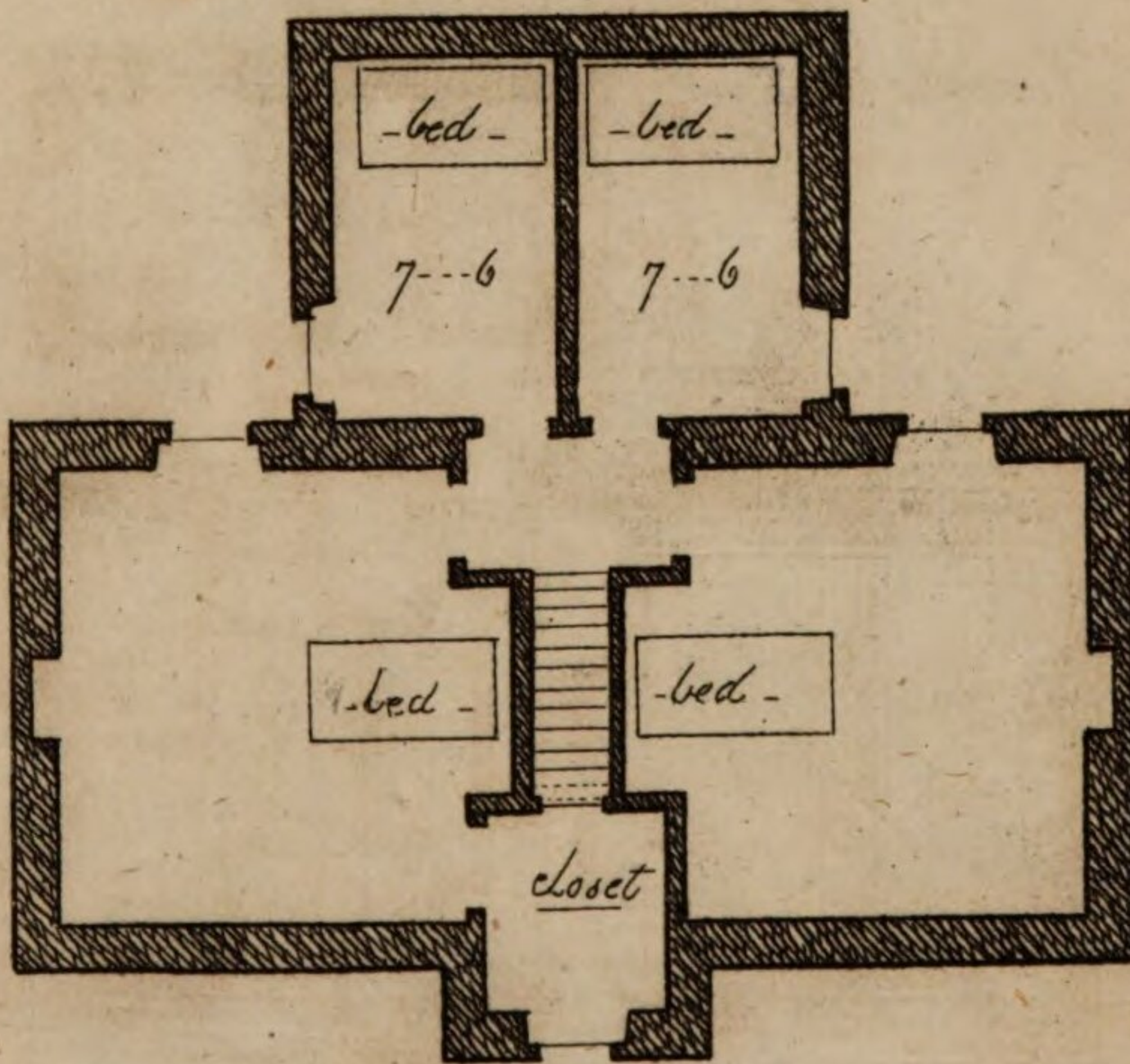
Shrub

N^o 4

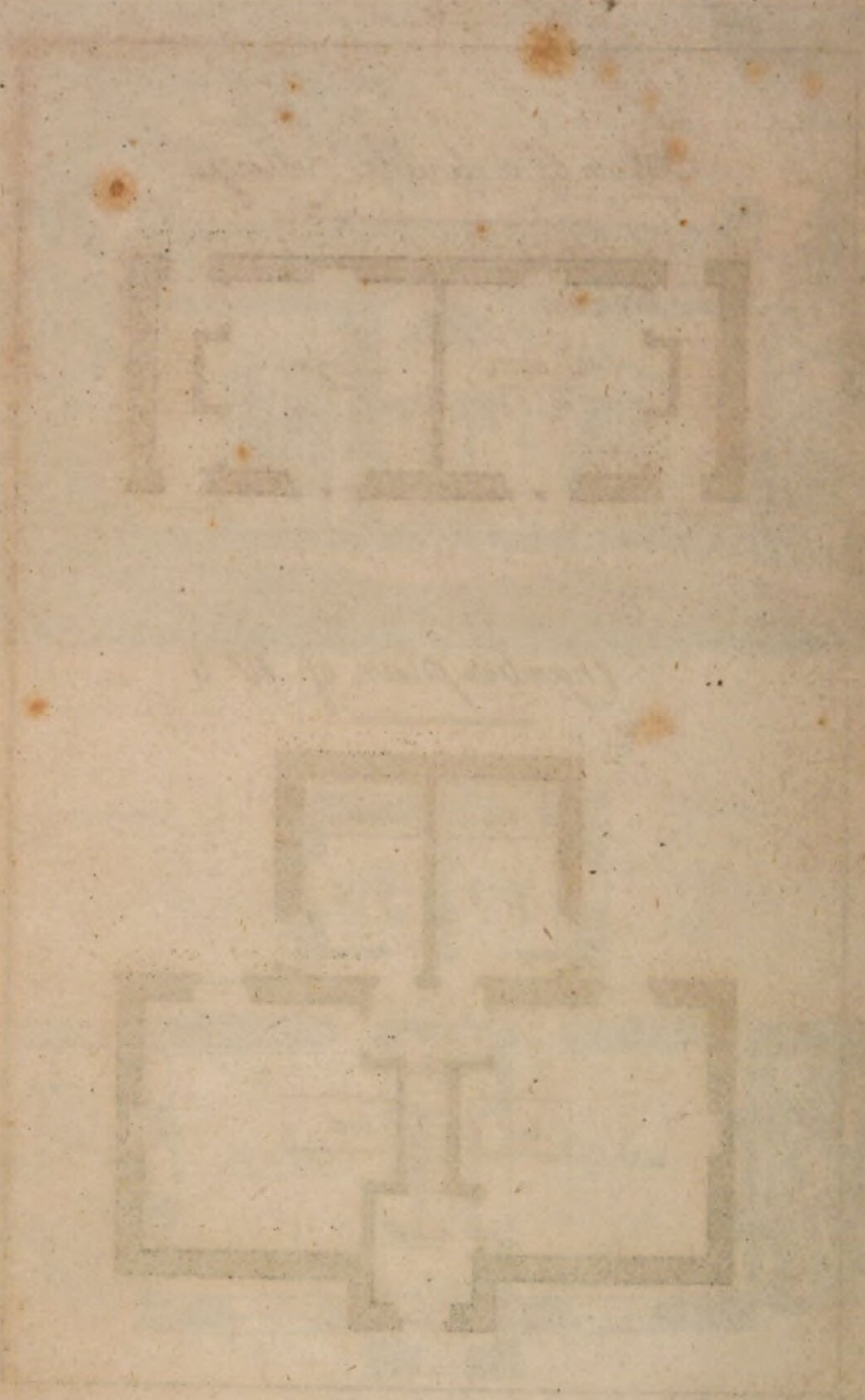
Plan of a double cottage



Chamber plan of N^o 3



W R



State of Ireland considered

Dublin 1810

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